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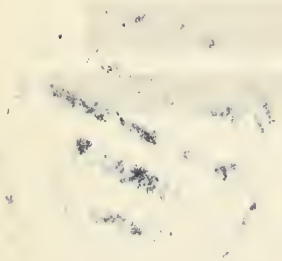

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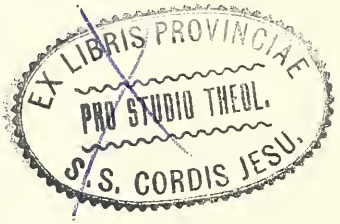
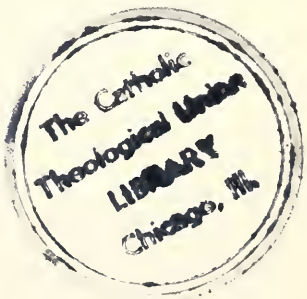
MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 29, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1947





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JANUARY 1947

VOLUME 29 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 18 NUMBER 1

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VOLUME 29 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 18 NUMBER 1

Research in American Economic History: A Thirty Year View*

I.

After a series of informal discussions on economic history at Cambridge University a few years ago the late Professor Harold Temperley concluded that there was no such thing.[1] More recently the Economic History Association held a session on "What is Economic History?"[2] After listening to a paper by John U. Nef, and formal discussion by Richard H. Shryock and Harold F. Williamson, many historians were still in doubt as to whether or not Professor Temperley was right.

J. H. Clapham once wrote that "Economic history is a branch of general institutional history, a study of the economic aspects of the social institutions of the past."[3] But when such a brief definition is applied to existing literature it raises almost as many questions as it answers. Scholars trained in the discipline of general history, particularly, are inclined to pursue the study of social institutions such as business, religion, or war, without stopping at Professor Clapham's boundary line marked "economic aspects." Furthermore, they are probably right. Even authorities who consider themselves strictly economists or economic historians find difficulty in subdividing in-

* This paper was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Bloomington, Indiana, April 19, 1946. For its setting see *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September, 1946, 264–265. —Ed.

[1] John U. Nef, "What is Economic History?," in *The Tasks of Economic History*, Supplement to the *Journal of Economic History*, December, 1944, 5.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1–28.

[3] *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, New York, 1931, V, 327.

stitutional studies. Wesley C. Mitchell, as Director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, writes:

> The interrelations among economic activities are so vital that strict monographic treatment is relatively sterile. How can one treat . . . enterprise without reference to taxation and governmental policies, or changes in economic activity without reference to interrelations among the factors that change?[4]

Arthur H. Cole, Chairman of the Committee on Research in Economic History of the Social Science Research Council, notes that certain of its projects go far into the fields of political and intellectual history and adds:

> For this portion of its program, it believes in the wisdom of reverting to the older term 'political economy' as more descriptive of the area in which it is interested rather than continuing to utilize the relatively modern term 'economics.'[5]

If the Committee should go back further in the history of economic terminology in the United States, however, the term "political economy" would become "moral philosophy," and would the Committee then be engaged in research in economic history?

Economic historians trained in economics departments have been more conscious of the problem of defining their field than have those stemming from the disciplines of general or political history. Economists such as Chester W. Wright and Harold F. Williamson, for example, devote the first chapter of their texts to a discussion of the nature, character, and significance of economic history, whereas historians such as Harold U. Faulkner, Fred A. Shannon, and Edward C. Kirkland plunge immediately into the story.[6] This difference in degree of disciplinary self-consciousness no doubt comes partly from the fact that economists recognize themselves as members of one of a group of coordinate social sciences that for reasons of efficiency often have to define their boundaries. The historians, on the other hand, regard the social science divisions as of doubtful validity, or else they assume the role of synthesizers of the partial contributions of these special disciplines.

It is relatively easy, therefore, to label as economic history work

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[4] Wesley C. Mitchell, *The National Bureau's First Quarter-Century*, New York, 1941, 21.

[5] Arthur H. Cole, "A Report on Research in Economic History," *Journal of Economic History*, IV (May, 1944), 53.

[6] Chester W. Wright, *Economic History of the United States*, New York, 1941; Harold F. Williamson, ed., *The Growth of the American Economy*, New York, 1944; Harold U. Faulkner, *American Economic History*, New York, 1942; Fred A. Shannon, *America's Economic Growth*, New York, 1940; Edward C. Kirkland, *A History of American Economic Life*, New York, 1942.

by economists running over a time span. It almost always meets the economic test of being *chiefly* concerned with the production and use of goods and services regardless of how far into the airier uplands of religion or social philosophy it may pursue certain problems. Where any difficulties of classification arise concerning the writings of professional economists it is usually the question of how long a time span should be covered before a work is designated as history. For example, are the industrial analyses of Anne Bezanson and Gladys Palmer, covering one to three or four years, history?[7] Are the three volumes on the economics of labor by Harry A. Millis and Royal E. Montgomery history, or are they economic analyses that gain elbow room by ranging over a ten or twenty year period?[8]

You will have to answer these questions for yourselves. The garnering and using of miscellaneous economic data by professional historians has led to a large body of literature that is or is not economic history, depending upon the observer. What is Charles A. Beard's "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," A. M. Schlesinger's "The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution," T. B. Abernethy's "Western Lands and the American Revolution," or Philip Foner's "Business and Slavery"?[9] Some historians might class them as economic history, but economists probably would not, for they are concerned with the "economic interpretation" of politics rather than with an effort to analyze the dynamics of production or distribution. Similar questions arise regarding many general histories such as Beverly W. Bond, Jr.'s *Civilization of the Old Northwest*, or the volumes of the *History of American Life* series which include long sections on economic development.[10]

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[7] Anne Bezanson, *Earnings and Working Opportunity in the Upholstery Weavers Trade in Twenty-five Plants in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1928; Anne Bezanson and Robert Gray, *Trends in Foundry Production in the Philadelphia Area, 1924–1927*, Philadelphia, 1929; Gladys L. Palmer, *Union Tactics and Economic Change: A Case Study of Three Philadelphia Textile Unions*, Philadelphia, 1932.

[8] Harry A. Millis and Royal E. Montgomery, *The Economics of Labor*, a series of three volumes including: *Labor's Progress and Some Basic Labor Problems*, New York, 1938; *Labor's Risks and Social Insurance*, New York, 1938; *Organized Labor*, New York, 1945.

[9] Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, New York, 1913; Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763–1776*, New York, 1918; Thomas B. Abernethy, *Western Lands and the American Revolution*, New York, 1937; Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery; The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict*, Chapel Hill, 1941.

[10] Beverly W. Bond, Jr., *The Civilization of the Old Northwest, 1788–1812*, New York, 1934; Dixon Rejan Fox and Arthur M. Schlesinger, eds. *A History of American Life*, 12 vols., New York, 1930–44.

It should be apparent by now that any discussion of research in economic history involves a good deal of subjective judgment both as to what is history and what is economic. While I personally favor the breakdown of all disciplinary barriers, in the following discussion I shall confine myself largely to those movements and publications between 1918 and the present that seem to have made significant contributions to economic history, as it is generally defined by economists. To take a broader view would be to discuss the development of most of American historical study.

II.

In the years preceding the First World War, economic history was assuming an increasingly important role in American historiography. The Carnegie Institution was underwriting large histories of American industry, commerce and transportation.[11] John R. Commons and his associates were preparing their pioneer history of American labor and their *Documentary History of American Industrial Society.*[12] Many important individual works, such as Katherine Coman's *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* Joseph S. Davis' *Earlier History of American Corporations,* and William Z. Ripley's volumes on railroads seemed to presage a great future for economic history.[13] But the War delayed the fulfillment of this promise. More than in other fields of history, the leading economic scholars were called into government service. The War emphasized different fields of study for the new generation of graduate students, and interesting new developments in economic theory and practice lured economists away from history.

Using my own judgment of what constitutes a work of sufficient importance to be included in a brief bibliography of American economic history, I have counted the number of such works published during five-year intervals for the twenty years following 1918. From 1919 to 1923, inclusive, only fifteen such contributions appeared; from 1924 to 1928 the number rose to thirty-one; from 1929 to 1933

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[11] Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufacture in the United States, 1607–1893,* 2 vols., New York, 1918; Emory R. Johnson et al., *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce,* Washington, 1915; Balthasar H. Meyer, ed., *History of Transportation to 1860,* Washington, 1917.

[12] John R. Commons et al., eds., *Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* 11 vols., Cleveland, 1910–1911.

[13] Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West,* 2 vols., New York, 1912; Joseph S. Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations,* 2 vols., Cambridge, 1917; William Z. Ripley, *Railroad Rates and Regulation,* New York, 1912; *Railroads; Finance and Organization,* New York, 1915.

to thirty-seven; and from 1934 to 1938 it declined slightly to thirty-five. It is interesting to note that contrary to the trend in general publishing, the largest output was during the years of deepest depression, illustrating Walter Bagehot's statement that "while the economic condition of countries is bad, men care for Political Economy, which may tell us how it is to be improved; when that condition is improved, Political Economy ceases to have the same popular interest."[14] These figures, based solely on studies of the United States by native scholars, do not, of course, indicate the extent of American scholarly interest in economic history. A very large group of our scholars have devoted their attention to Europe or have divided it between Europe and the United States. And without certain institutional incentives for the study of American materials, this group might have been still larger.

In discussing institutional encouragement to economic history, a distinction should be made between series of studies where both research and publication are subsidized, such as the Harvard Business History series, the Research Studies of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, or the publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and the much larger number of series edited by historians and published through university presses where the work is often done in the form of doctoral dissertations and the only financial assistance is in publishing. While some of the latter series may have considerable plan and unity as in the case of the excellent *Smith College Studies* in the economic history of the Connecticut River Valley, they cannot insure so continuous a flow of monographs directed to specific objectives, as in projects where research is subsidized.

A third type of institutionally sponsored series is the kind edited by competent historians, but brought out by commercial publishers. The Rinehart series on the economic history of the United States, and on American labor in the twentieth century are excellent examples of this type.[15] Guarantees of publication, advance on future royalties, and the help of able editors constitute powerful stimulants

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[14] Walter Bagehot, *Economic Studies*, London, 1880, 155.

[15] Henry David, Harold U. Faulkner, Louis M. Hacker, Curtis P. Nettels, Fred A. Shannon, eds., "The Economic History of the United States," to be published in 9 vols. Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier*, v. 5, New York, 1945.

Henry David, Harry J. Carman, Herbert J. Lahne, eds., John Chamberlain, consultant ed., "Labor in the Twentieth Century" includes: Joel Seidman, *The Needle Trades*, New York, 1942; Jacob Loft, *The Printing Trades*, New York, 1944; Vernon H. Jensen, *Lumber and Labor*, New York, 1945.

with which publishers can help to direct the course of scholarly research.

The attitudes and interests of the leaders of our biggest universities are of still greater importance in directing the course of study and writing. Even an outlander untouched by the Harvard tradition must recognize the strong influence of the Harvard economics department and the Harvard Business School in directing the growth of American economic history. Under the leadership of the late Edwin F. Gay, from 1903 to 1936, Harvard scholars pioneered in many areas of economic history. Due to his influence the *Harvard Economic Studies* became chiefly a series of economic histories.

Meanwhile, in 1925, there appeared a new branch of economic history: business history. Developments in this field moved rapidly at Harvard during the next four years. N. S. B. Gras became Straus Professor of Business History, the *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society* appeared in 1926, and Professors Gay and Gras became editors of the quarterly *Journal of Economic and Business History.*

The *Journal* was published from November 1928 until August of 1932, when shortage of funds forced its suspension. This *Journal*, running some two hundred pages an issue with no book reviews, was the most ambitious American venture in publishing articles on economic history. The contributions, which were paid for, were of a high quality, and the authors' names read like a Who's Who of the middle generation of economic historians. Its untimely end left many historians convinced that one like it should be started again as soon as possible.

The appearance of Kenneth W. Porter's *John Jacob Astor* in 1931 inaugurated the *Harvard Studies in Business History* under the editorship of Professor Gras.[16] The second and third volumes of

[16] "Harvard Studies in Business History," edited by N. S. B. Gras, include: Kenneth W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man,* Cambridge, 1931; Henrietta M. Larson, *Jay Cooke, Private Banker,* Cambridge, 1936; Kenneth W. Porter, ed., *The Jacksons and the Lees: Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765–1844,* Cambridge, 1937; N. S. B. Gras, *The Massachusetts First National Bank of Boston, 1784–1934,* Cambridge, 1939; Ralph M. Hower, *The History of an Advertising Agency: N. W. Ayer & Son at Work, 1869–1939,* Cambridge, 1939; J. Owen Stalson, *Marketing Life Insurance: Its History in America,* Cambridge, 1942; Ralph M. Hower, *History of Macy's of New York, 1858–1919: Chapters in the Evolution of a Department Store,* Cambridge, 1943; George Sweet Gibb, *The Whitesmiths of Taunton: A History of Reed & Barton, 1824–1943,* Cambridge, 1943; Charles Sterling Popple, *Development of Two Bank Groups in the Central Northwest: A Study in Bank Policy and Organization,* Cambridge, 1944; W. T. Baxter, *The House of Hancock: Business in Boston, 1724–1775,* Cambridge, 1944; C. W. Moore, *Timing a Century: History of the Waltham Watch Company,* Cambridge, 1945.

this series, Henrietta Larson's *Jay Cooke,* and Professor Porter's *The Jacksons and the Lees*, made use of family papers and materials in conventional depositories. In the fourth volume, however, Professor Gras' *The Massachusetts First National Bank of Boston,* the author plunged into the problem of using business records still in the possession of an active company. Most of the seven additional volumes that have appeared up to the present time are such studies of active companies from their own records. While a handful of other scholarly histories have been written from such records, the Harvard series remains the principal example of this type of scholarship. The volumes necessarily vary in value due to the differing attitudes of the officials of the companies studied, the character of their records, and the ability of the writers, but the best ones, such as *The Whitesmiths of Taunton* by George S. Gibb and *Macy's of New York* by Ralph M. Hower, demonstrate the merit of this form of research. The New York University Graduate School of Business Administration is inaugurating a similar series this year, and it is to be hoped that other big city universities also will develop an interest in business history.

The Industrial Research Department of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, with Anne Bezanson as the leading spirit, started the publication of research monographs in 1928.[17] The studies deal mainly with manufacturing and labor conditions in the Philadelphia area. Perhaps because most of the volumes cover relatively brief time spans, this series has not received from historians the attention it deserves.

The Carnegie Foundation has financed studies ranging from Bidwell's and Falconer's, and Gray's histories of agriculture before 1860 to the Yale University Press series on Canadian relations with the United States.[18] The latter, particularly, is an example of the speeding up through institutional planning and assistance of study

[17] Anne Bezanson, *Earnings in the Upholstery Weavers Trade,* "Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Research Studies 1."

[18] Percy W. Bidwell and John I. Falconer, *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860,* Washington, 1925; L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860,* 2 vols., Washington, 1933.

"The Relations of Canada and the United States" include: Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Mingling of Canadian and American Peoples,* New Haven, 1940; Harold Innis, *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy,* New Haven, 1940; John P. Pritchett, *The Red River Valley, 1811–1849: A Regional Study,* New Haven, 1942; John Bartlett Brebner, *North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, The United States and Great Britain,* New Haven, 1945.

that might otherwise not have been undertaken for decades. The series contains such excellent works as Harold Innis's on the Cod Fisheries, and John B. Brebner's summary volume on the North Atlantic Triangle.

The next generation of economic historians, prepared by more advanced theory to make better use of quantitative data, may perhaps regard the studies carried on by the National Bureau of Economic Research as the most important work of our time. Founded in May 1920 through the efforts of Malcolm Rorty, N. I. Stone, Edwin F. Gay, Wesley Mitchell and others, it has produced some seventy-five substantial monographs, and more than a hundred Bulletins and Occasional Papers.[19] While most of this work has not been specifically historical, almost every monograph employs some historical treatment and provides valuable material for historical use. More than a score of the studies such as Leo Wolman's *Growth of Trade Unions, 1880–1923*, W. L. Thorp's *Business Annals*, and Arthur F. Burns' *Production Trends in the United States*, are of fundamental importance to the economic historian.[20] Wesley Mitchell's recent anniversary report entitled "The National Bureau's First Quarter-Century" is in itself a valuable paper on the problems of historical research.

The National Industrial Conference Board, founded in 1916 by a group of business associations for studies of the enterprise system, has published a large number of factual volumes containing material on wages, salaries, company magazines, company unions and other business developments which the individual historian could not gather elsewhere.[21]

The activities of the country's greatest agency for the writing of economic history, the Federal Government, have been so numerous in the last thirty years that even a brief survey would make a long paper in itself. From the orderly and ceaseless production of Everett E. Edwards in the Department of Agriculture to the disorderly

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[19] For review of the history and publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., see Mitchell, *National Bureau's First Quarter-Century*.

[20] Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880–1923*, New York, 1924; W. L. Thorpe, *Business Annals*, New York, 1926; Arthur F. Burns, *Production Trends in the United States Since 1870*, New York, 1934.

[21] See for example: *Employee Magazines in the United States*, New York, 1925; *Clerical Salaries in the United States, 1926*, New York, 1926; *Industrial Relations in Small Plants*, New York, 1929; *Wages in the United States, 1914–1929*, New York, 1930; *Conference Board Studies in Enterprise and Social Progress*, New York, 1939.

and scattered collections of the W.P.A., the Government has made available both sources and finished products in the field of economic history that academic scholars have only begun to utilize. Valuable Committee Hearings alone run into hundreds of volumes. Monographs such as those of the TNEC, the National Resources Planning Board, or the reports of various Congressional Committees, are in themselves a new literature of economic history, but in general they need to be synthesized into broader and more concise studies, such as N. R. Danielian's "A. T. & T.," before their contributions will reach the general historical student.[22]

A goodly number of reviews willing to publish articles in economic history is a strong incentive to scholarship. Throughout the period since the First World War, the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has published scores of economic articles, the *American Historical Review* a considerably smaller number, and most of the reviews concerned with any of the social sciences have published at least a few contributions that may be classed as economic history. *Agricultural History*, the journal begun in 1927 by the then struggling Agricultural History Society, was the first American review devoted chiefly to economic history. During the succeeding twenty years, mainly under the editorship of Everett E. Edwards, it has printed more than two hundred and fifty articles.[23]

Nineteen-forty will doubtless remain a landmark in American economic historiography. In that year the Social Science Research Council made available a very large grant for the use of a new Council Committee on research in the economic history of the Americas. In that year too, the Economic History Association was organized. While these two developments were the result of the activities of much the same group of scholars, those who had grown up under the continuing influence of Edwin F. Gay, they were not directly connected with each other. Arthur H. Cole, Professor Gay's colleague for many years, became the Chairman of the Committee on Research in Economic History, and Professor Gay himself became the first President of the Economic History Association, but perhaps the most active worker for both causes was E. A. J. Johnson who became editor of the *Journal of Economic History* published by the Association. Professor Johnson and Professor Shep-

[22] N. R. Danielian, *A. T. & T.: The Story of Industrial Conquest*, New York, 1939.

[23] Arthur G. Peterson, "The Agricultural History Society's First Quarter Century." *Agricultural History*, 19, 196.

ard B. Clough, the Associate Editor of the *Journal,* built up the membership of the Association by buttonholing historians and economists all over the country and breaking down their sales resistance to the three dollar membership fee. From its first issue in May, 1941, the *Journal of Economic History* has been financed from membership dues. Its ability to survive without subsidy has been striking proof of American scholarly interest in this field.

It has been the aim of its editors to make the *Journal* a medium for articles on all parts of the world by authors representing all shades of economic opinion. In its critical function, the *Journal* has sought to review important books of interest to the economic historian regardless of whether they lay within the strict boundaries of the field. Merle Curti's *Growth of American Thought*, and Richard Hofstadter's *Social Darwinism* have been reviewed as well as popular histories of labor unions, and not too profound biographies of American business leaders.[24]

From the start the Economic History Association and the Agricultural History Society have worked in close coöperation. They have joint membership arrangements and the Agricultural History Society is represented as an institution on the Board of Trustees of the Economic History Association.

While the new Association was gaining strength and inspiring new interest in economic history the Committee on Research embarked upon the ambitious plan of using its funds to direct study along certain pre-determined lines. Two major and two minor fields were selected in United States economic history. The major fields are the history of the role of government, and of the entrepreneur in economic development. The minor fields, partly included in the major, are the rise and evolutionary change of the corporation, and the history of banking.[25]

There is much to be said for the selection of specific objectives, and for the particular ones selected. The success of the National Bureau of Economic Research in developing a coördinated body of research has been distinctly encouraging, as contrasted with the failure of individually motivated scholarship in tackling complex basic problems. While the role of government in economic life transcends the strict boundaries of economic history the emphasis will be placed on the effect of this role on economic institutions. Lack of study of

[24] See *Journal of Economic History*, V (May, 1945) 83–84 for Curti; V (November, 1945) 250–251 for Hofstadter.

[25] Cole, *Journal of Economic History*, IV, 49–72.

the entrepreneur, the corporation, and banking have been notable weaknesses in American history. Even though the Committee's funds are small compared with those of the National Bureau, it is hoped that careful use of money for assistance to, rather than complete support of projects may make possible the fulfillment of its program.

III.

So far I have been operating on the relatively safe level of recording facts regarding the growth of institutional support for research and publication. When one ascends to the higher task of evaluating the institutional product itself and the dozens of individually inspired works the air becomes bumpier, and a mounting weight of disagreement endangers navigation.

Scholarly production in the field of agricultural history, a part of economic history no matter how defined, has been so large during the last thirty years that detailed evaluation would require both more space and specialized knowledge that I can employ in the present discussion. I will only say here that I believe that the over-all syntheses of pre-Civil War agricultural history by Bidwell, Falconer and Gray: the recent volume by Shannon on the period 1865–1897; the writings of Webb, Osgood, Pelzer and Dale on the Great Plains; the work of Gates, Overton and others on business forces in land policy; and many other studies on the South and West constitute the most important body of writing in any major division of economic history.[26]

The same group of scholars have also worked on the reexamination of such socio-economic ideas as the "safety-valve" theory of the frontier, and the "Turner Thesis" until it seems likely that these concepts have found their proper place in the larger synthesis of American history.

While agricultural history has held the center of the stage during much of the last thirty years the study of the business leader and

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[26] See n. 18 for Bidwell and Falconer, and Gray; n. 15 for Shannon; Walter P. Webb, *The Great Plains*, Boston, 1931; Ernest S. Osgood, *The Day of the Cattleman*, Minneapolis, 1929; Louis Pelzer, *The Cattleman's Frontier*, Glendale, Cal., 1936; Edward E. Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry*, Norman, Okla., 1930; *idem.*, *Cow County*, Norman, Okla., 1942; Paul W. Gates, *The Illinois Central and Its Colonization Work*, Cambridge, 1934; *idem.*, *The Wisconsin Pinelands of Cornell University: A Study in Land Ownership and Absentee Ownership*, Ithaca, 1943; Richard C. Overton, *Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad*, Cambridge, 1941.

of the means by which he controls the economy may have the most far-reaching effects on future economic and social history. That this study concerns agriculture as well as industry is shown by Lewis Atherton, Helen Cowan, Thomas Clark, Paul Gates, Richard Overton, and many others who have written of the land promoter, railroad executive, or country storekeeper.[27] We have been primarily a business people on prairie farms or in the depths of the north woods as well as in the offices of La Salle or Wall Street.

Besides the small number of good business biographies and company histories noted earlier in connection with the Harvard series, there have been some attempts at synthesizing business history. Virginia Harrington's "New York Merchants," Robert A. East's broader survey of *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* and Robert G. Albion's *Rise of New York Port* all demonstrate the possibilities of this type of study.[28] Efforts at long-run synthesis on a national basis such as Professor Gras' *Business and Capitalism,* and William Miller's and my *Age of Enterprise* have been less successful due to the dearth of monographic literature.[29] But there should be a veritable flood of work in this field during the next decade, for in addition to the University series, all the special lines of inquiry of the Committee on Research in Economic History bear upon it.

Furthermore, the study of business and the entrepreneur whether in agriculture, manufacturing, trade, transportation, or finance has put emphasis on new kinds of records: those of the individual business. If it is true that history grows mainly from the working of new sources, then this opening up of a vast and confusing wonderland of business materials will have a profound influence on all economic study.[30]

It is only a short step from business history with its emphasis on human psychology and systems of organization to the older field of labor history. Labor and business history have suffered from opposite weaknesses. Business history has failed sufficiently to transcend

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[27] Lewis E. Atherton, *The Pioneer Merchant in Mid-America,* Columbus, Mo., 1939; Helen I. Cowan, *Charles Williamson: Genesee Promoter, Friend of Anglo-American Rapprochement,* Rochester, 1941; Thomas D. Clark, *Pills, Petticoats and Plows: The Southern Country Store,* Indianapolis, 1944; see n. 26 for Gates; and Overton.

[28] Virginia Harrington, *New York Merchants on the Eve of the Revolution,* New York, 1935; Robert A. East, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era,* New York, 1938; Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port, 1815–1860,* New York, 1939.

[29] N. S. B. Gras, *Business and Capitalism,* New York, 1939; Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller, *The Age of Enterprise,* New York, 1942.

[30] The New York Committee on Business Records, Thomas C. Cochran, Secretary, is trying to make the business records of the metropolitan area available to scholars.

purely economic considerations; labor history has treated social and psychological situations to the neglect of labor as a factor in production and distribution. Most labor historians have become engrossed in working-class problems from the socio-political angle. Few labor histories discuss the effect of union growth and labor legislation on production costs, labor supply, full employment, or capital investment. We have had conservative, liberal, socialist and communist histories, but no general economic history of labor in the United States.

The great majority of books on labor history have to do with the histories of unions, workers' political movements, labor legislation, and individual strike actions. In all of these fields a large amount of good work has been done since the two pioneer volumes of the Commons group appeared in 1918. In the last half dozen years there have been a number of scholarly histories of individual unions, of labor in individual industries, and Richard B. Morris' definitive study of government and labor in the colonial period.[31]

From the new resources opened up by both business and trade union histories it should be possible in the future to write far richer industrial history, but meanwhile scholars have turned out some notable works on the older model. Arthur H. Cole's two volumes on wool manufacture represent some of the best economic history writing of our period.[32] Cole and Williamson's volume on the carpet industry, Caroline F. Ware's *Early New England Cotton Manufacture*, and J. G. B. Hutchins' "The American Maritime Industries," are also notable.[33] Many of the books in this field, however, have been written for trade associations by professional journalists, or by retired business men, and while some of these such as Rudolf Clemens' volume on the meat packing industry are valuable, the average of quality is not high.[34]

The increasing importance of business fluctuations has led economists to give much attention to studies of price movements, national income, and the business cycle. The new theoretical in-

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[31] Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America*, New York, 1946; see also note 15.

[32] Arthur H. Cole, *The American Wool Manufacture*, 2 Vols., Cambridge, 1926.

[33] Arthur H. Cole and Harold F. Williamson, *The American Carpet Manufacture: a History and an Analysis. Harvard Economic Studies*, v. 70, Cambridge, 1941; Caroline F. Ware, *Early New England Cotton Manufacture*, Boston, 1931; John G. B. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789–1914: An Economic History.* Harvard Economic Studies V. 71, Cambridge, 1941.

[34] Rudolf A. Clemen, *The American Livestock and Meat Industry*, New York, 1923.

terests have been to some extent projected into the field of history. In the early 'thirties the Rockefeller Foundation underwrote an International Scientific Committee on Price History with Sir William Beveridge as Chairman and Edwin F. Gay as the American representative. With the help of grants from the Committee a number of scholars prepared wholesale price series for Boston, Charleston, Cincinnati, New Orleans, New York and Philadelphia. Anne Bezanson, Robert Gray, and Meriam Hussey published their Philadelphia data in two volumes of the Wharton School Industrial Research Studies.[35] Arthur H. Cole, representing the Committee, gathered together the work of the other scholars in two volumes entitled *Wholesale Prices in the United States.*[36] Thomas S. Berry's study of Cincinnati prices, included in the Cole volume, was subsequently expanded into a separate book on western prices before 1861 and published in the *Harvard Economic Series.*[37] Before leaving this general field mention should also be made of the recent surveys of farm prices in Indiana and Vermont by H. J. Houk and T. M. Adams respectively, and of Edgar W. Martin's interesting cross sectional study, *The Standard of Living in 1860.*[38]

A considerable amount of material has been collected on the history of the business cycle such as Walter B. Smith's and Arthur H. Cole's *Fluctuations in American Business, 1790–1860*, Leonard P. Ayres' *Turning Points in Business Cycles*, Norman J. Silberding's *The Dynamics of Business*, and the publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research by Arthur F. Burns, J. M. Clark, and Wesley C. Mitchell.[39] But no one has attempted to surround

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[35] Anne Bezanson, Robert Gray and Miriam Hussey, *Wholesale Prices in Philadelphia, 1784–1861.* Industrial Research Department, Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, Research Studies, 29, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1936–1937.

[36] Arthur H. Cole, *Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700–1861*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1938.

[37] Thomas S. Berry, *Western Prices Before 1861: A Study of the Cincinnati Market, Harvard Economic Studies*, v. 74, Cambridge, 1943.

[38] Howard J. Houk, *A Century of Indiana Farm Prices, 1841–1941*, Bulletin 476, Purdue University, Agricultural Experiment Station, Lafayette, Ind., 1943; T. M. Adams, *Prices Paid by Vermont Farmers for Goods and Services, and Received by them for Farm Products*, Bulletin 507, Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, Burlington, Vt., 1944; Edgar W. Martin, *The Standard of Living in 1860: The American Consumption Levels on the Eve of the Civil War*, Chicago, 1942.

[39] Walter B. Smith and Arthur H. Cole, *Fluctuations in American Business, 1790–1860*, Cambridge, 1935; Leonard P. Ayres, *Turning Points in Business Cycles*, New York, 1939; Norman J. Silberding, *The Dynamics of Business*, New York, 1943; for list of publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, see Mitchell, *National Bureau's First Quarter-Century.*

their figures or theories with the sinews and flesh of full-blooded history. With the present lack of monographic material, the history of the business cycle in the United States may well seem too big a project for any one scholar. Meanwhile, a few efforts have been made to examine the subject piecemeal with the emphasis on analyzing depressions rather than prosperities which seem to be taken for granted as the proper condition of mankind. In 1924 Reginald C. McGrane wrote an account of the panic of 1837, but not until 1943 did George W. Van Vleck follow suit with a brief book on the panic of 1857; and to these should be added some accounts of booms or depressions in certain localities.[40] Samuel Rezneck has written several good articles on the early depressions, but the point of view has been more social than economic.[41]

According to my arbitrary definition, the history of economic thought is not economic history. Yet the close connections between theoretical views and the use of historical data make appropriate a brief mention of work in this field of intellectual history. Up to the present year E. A. J. Johnson's volume on American economic thought in the seventeenth century was the only effort to synthesize such thinking for a period.[42] Beside this there were some scholarly studies of special topics such as McConnell's *Economic Virtues in the United States*; O'Conner's "Origins of Academic Economics"; Ekirch's "The Idea of Progress in Amerisa, 1815–1860"; and Diamond's *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson*.[43] But the situation was abruptly altered in 1946 by the appearance of Joseph Dorfman's two volumes covering the writings of many economic thinkers prior to 1865.[44] Presumably Professor Dorfman will ultimately fill in the void from 1865 to the present day.

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[40] Reginald C. McGrane, *The Panic of 1837*, Chicago, 1924; George W. Van Vleck, *The Panic of 1857: An Analytical Study*, New York, 1943. Regarding localities see for example: Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California*, San Marino, 1944; B. R. McClaskey, *A Social and Economic Survey of Beadle County, South Dakota*, Chicago, 1940.

[41] Samuel Rezneck, "The Depression of 1819–1822, A Social History," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (October, 1933) 28–47; *idem.*, "The Social History of an American Depression, 1837–1842," *American Historical Review*, XL (July, 1935) 662–687; *idem.*, "Depression and American Opinion, 1857–1859," *Journal of Economic History*, II (May, 1942) 1–23.

[42] E. A. J. Johnson, *Economic Thought in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1932.

[43] Donald McConnell, *Economic Virtues in the United States*, New York, 1930; Arthur A. Ekirch, *The Idea of Progress in America, 1815–1860*, New York, 1944; William Diamond, *The Economic Thought of Woodrow Wilson*, Baltimore, 1943.

[44] Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization*, 2 vols., New York, 1946.

IV.

In spite of the recent growth of interest in economic history, there are still many areas that have been explored only slightly. American economic history has had no Judith Williams to record the bibliography of a century in two fat volumes.[45] Aside from the extensive bibliographical work of Everett Edwards in agricultural history, and the twice yearly book lists of Mulford Martin in the *Journal of Economic History* there are no satisfactory bibliographical guides to the field as a whole. Even the quarterly check lists of articles in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and *American Historical Review* and the annual volumes edited for the American Historical Association by Grace G. Griffin fail the economic historian because of the necessarily strict interpretation of what constitutes history.

But more surprising still is the fact that the history of technology, basic to an understanding of economic change, has received very little attention. Although Usher's *A History of Mechanical Inventions* affords a provocative beginning, there is no comprehensive scholarly history of American invention.[46] Scattered specialized studies of technical growth like Flexner's *Steamboats Come True*, McLaren's *The Rise of the Electrical Industry During the Nineteenth Century*, and scattered parts of a number of industrial histories and government reports have never been synthesized into any interpretative scholarly account of the role of technological change in American history.[47]

There was considerable interest in railroad history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, when the completion of our gigantic railroad net was still the most spectacular achievement of the American economy. But this interest died out after the First World War. While Robert F. Riegel's *Story of the Western Railroads,* published in 1927, filled in important gaps in the nineteenth century picture, no one attempted to continue a general or regional synthesis on through the twentieth century, or to plunge into such neglected areas as the history of the eastern trunk lines.[48]

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[45] Judith B. Williams, *A Guide to the Printed Materials for English Social and Economic History, 1750–1850,* 2 vols., New York, 1926.

[46] Abbot P. Usher, *A History of Mechanical Inventions,* New York, 1929.

[47] James T. Flexner, *Steamboats Come True: American Inventors in Action,* New York, 1944; Malcolm McLaren, *The Rise of the Electrical Industry during the Nineteenth Century,* Princeton, 1943. Rudolf Clemens has nearly completed a history of American technology.

[48] Robert F. Riegel, *The Story of the Western Railroads,* New York, 1927.

The excellence of Paul Gates' study of the Illinois Central Railroad and its colonization work, published in 1934, undoubtedly aroused both scholars and railroad executives to new interest in the history of individual roads.[49] Richard C. Overton's *Burlington West* and his organization of the informal Lexington Group have helped to continue this interest, while the deposit of the Burlington and the Illinois Central records in the Newberry Library, directed by Stanley Pargellis, offers new opportunities for rail research.[50] As a result we may be on the threshold of a renaissance of railroad history.

But if railroad history is nearly ready for definitive treatment the history of movement by modern canals, steamships, highways, trucks, and air planes is in need of basic spade work. There is no adequate economic history of any of these forms of transportation.

The same can be said of marketing. There are, of course, hundreds of textbooks and theoretical studies of this subject, some case studies in individual business histories, and a few attempts at popular synthesis such as Presbrey's "History of Advertising," but there is not one economic history of the field as a whole, or of any of its principal parts.[51]

In spite of the accumulating number of company histories there is no history of business administration or of the interaction between business administrators and their local communities. The fields of business and government, entrepreneurial activity, corporation development and banking, selected for exploration by the Committee on Research in Economic History will undoubtedly be well cared for in the future, but the very fact that the Committee selected them emphasizes their neglect by past historians. There are, for example, some scholarly studies of special areas of credit and banking such as Margaret Myers' *New York Money Market*, Cyril F. James', *The Growth of Chicago Banks*, and Roy Foulke's *Sinews of American Commerce*, but there is no general history of either commercial or investment banking in the United States.[52] Similarly

[49] See n. 26 for Gates.

[50] For Overton see n. 26. For deposit of records see: Stanley Pargellis, "The Corporation and the Historian," *The Tasks of Economic History*, December, 1944, 29–37. The Lexington Group was organized at the Lexington, Kentucky, meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in 1942. There are no dues or requirements for admission other than an interest in railroad history.

[51] Frank Presbrey, *History and Development of Advertising*, Garden City, 1929; see also Neil H. Borden, *The Economic Effects of Advertising*, Chicago, 1942, for a brief historical introduction.

[52] Benjamin H. Beckhart, ed., *The New York Money Market*, 4 Vols., New York, 1931–1932, Vol. I, Margaret Myers, *Origins and Development*; Cyril F. James, *The Growth of Chicago Banks*, 2 Vols., New York, 1938; Roy A. Foulke, *Sinews of American Commerce*, New York, 1941.

our economic histories often fail even to record such matters as the passage of general incorporation laws and their more obvious effects. And the business leader save when he was doing something contrary to the public interest has been a forgotten man.

Implicit in a fuller study of the business system is the fundamental problem of the effect of ideas upon economic institutions. An agency fathered by the intellectual ideals of a group of reformers may re-channelize the course of an industry; a religiously conditioned administrative attitude may thwart the normal expansion of an economic enterprise; or a form of government inherited from the distant past may be the most important factor in a nation's economic pattern. Such problems have received relatively little attention from American economic historians.

One should not leave the subject of deficiencies in our economic history without making the usual plea for more comparative studies of the same forces in varying national environments. Because of the linguistic difficulties involved, our colleagues interested in European economic history can turn to the study of their same specialties in United States history more easily than students of the American scene can turn to Europe. If more of them do so in the near future the effects will be felt in all branches of American historical study.

VI.

What has been the net contribution to general history of this younger discipline, economic history? No new schools of thought built around the work of any great American economic historians have as yet appeared. It seemed possible in the thirties that a new Marxian synthesis of American history might emerge, but Marxian scholarship proved to be a passing phase for most of its devotees, and the only general synthesis clearly illustrating such influence, Louis Hacker's *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, was too brief to establish most of his contentions.[53]

Curtis Nettles' *Roots of American Civilization*, published in 1938, although designated as a text, has perhaps come the nearest, to re-synthesizing a major period of American history on the basis of new economic materials.[54] Making comprehensive use of monographic material, new and old, and of the fresh points of view com-

[53] Louis M. Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism*, New York, 1940.

[54] Curtis Nettles, *Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life*, New York, 1938.

ing from Marxism and business study, Professor Nettles remodeled the old synthesis almost beyond recognition.

Emphasis on business forces in American culture has been supported, as we have noted, by the work of Professor Gras and his disciples, but they have rigorously limited themselves to studies in past business administration, and refused to be drawn into the broader field of the place of business in American life. The work being done in this field with grants from The Committee on Research in Economic History will undoubtedly contribute new ideas to general history and may result in a new school of interpretation, but such speculations concern the future rather than the present. Perhaps the work already mentioned on the role of business enterprise in our land system has been more rapidly absorbed into the general synthesis of American history than has new material on the role of business in other spheres.

The fact that no new and widely accepted school of interpretation has arisen from the work of a generation of economic historians should not obscure the fact that they have considerably altered the story presented in our college textbooks. One has only to compare some venerable old-timer like John Spencer Bassett with the up-to-date texts to see the change at a glance.[55] But the outstanding contribution of economic history has probably been in methods rather than content. The most distinctive methodological feature of economic history is emphasis on quantitative analysis. Whereas the older American historians were content to record qualitative changes, the economic historian feels lost unless he can use measurements. According to Herbert Heaton "the urge to measure movements, growths, groups, and institutions and to answer such questions as How much? How many? How quickly? or How representative? is perhaps the outstanding characteristic of our generation."[56] Aided by the growing need for planning and measurement in our society, the economic historian has made some progress in developing this approach among his colleagues interested in social or intellectual studies. But the recent literature in these fields shows that progress has been slow, due partly to the difficulty of developing methods that will register the quantitative or relative force of ideas, or other intangible forces of group motivation. A book like A. M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *Age of Jackson* for example, would have gained

[55] John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States, 1492–1920*, New York, 1924.

[56] Herbert Heaton, "Recent Developments in Economic History," *American Historical Review*, XLVII (July, 1942) 735.

greatly if the author could have found some way of applying quantitative methods.[57]

Almost equally important as a contribution to historical method is the economists' use of theory as a tool for interpretation. American historians in particular, have been strong on assembling facts and weak in building theoretical systems or philosophies. Economics, on the other hand, is the social science with the most elaborate and most widely accepted theoretical structure. The interaction of these two attitudes in the field of economic history has been beneficial to both groups.[58] One of the most useful services of the meetings of the Economic History Association, it seems to me, has been to bring economic scholars trained in the Gay tradition of emphasis on theory into contact with historians who view social phenomena perhaps more broadly, but with little regard for the value in research of theory and hypothesis.

In its emphasis on quantitative measurement and theory, economic history is necessarily advancing the "cultural" or social science approach to history even though some of its practitioners have philosophies transcending scientific considerations. An historian like John U. Nef, for example, may see distinct limitations in the social scientific approach to truth, but due to his training in economics he employs social science methods, whereas many entirely pragmatic thinkers trained exclusively in history do not.[59] Guided by well-accepted theories and quantitative methods, economic history has shown some of the superiority to socio-political bias that is exhibited by the physical sciences. The task of improving methodology may provide a common rallying ground for economic historians lost in a sea of conflicting social values.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that young scholars who plan to write economic history should not, as in the past, take their training exclusively in either history or economics departments. A new type of general graduate education in the social sciences should emerge from the needs of inter-disciplinary fields such as economic history.

Perhaps the most significant proof of the youth of American economic history, and the great amount of primary work to be done is the absence of any general syntheses beyond textbooks for college

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[57] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson*, Boston, 1945.

[58] See: Thomas C. Cochran, "Historical Aspects of Imperfect Competition: Theory and History," *Tasks of Economic History*, December, 1943, 27–32.

[59] Nef, *Tasks of Economic History, loc. cit.*, 1–19.

classroom use. Harry J. Carman, to be sure, started on a three or four volume social and economic history of the United States in the late twenties, but after he completed two good volumes, covering the period up to 1875, other interests drew him away from the task and it is unlikely that he will return to it.[60] Furthermore, the Carman volumes are in general closer to the accepted pattern of American social history than to a new synthesis guided by economic methods and theory. Possibly no one has wanted to risk a major synthesis without more monographic sources. It may be that the growth of knowledge in the social sciences progressively discourages the writing of history in the grand manner, and that the great scholars of England and Europe were products of an earlier age of more assured values. At all events American economic history is still waiting for its Claphams, Pirennes, or Sombarts.

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[60] Harry J. Carman, *Social and Economic History of the United States*, 2 Vols., Boston, 1930.

The Abbé Rivet at Vincennes (1795-1804)*

During the administrations of George Washington and John Adams, the Wabash Valley lay midway between a two-pronged threat[1] to the coveted western lands of the United States. Although the rumor of a plan for a British army to march from Canada through the northwest to attack Louisiana, was not one to quiet fears, the battle of Fallen Timbers, the Treaty of Greenvillle, and the Jay Treaty checked for a while the British threat from the north through the Great Lakes. The Spanish minister, Godoy, also had found the peaceful settlement of the borders of the Spanish colonies in the south very desirable. But France, under the Directory and Napoleon, reaching out for Santo Domingo and Louisiana, was a greater threat to the security of the new nation down to the time of the very purchase of Louisiana in 1803. Pawns in this French colonial program were the old French settlements in Louisiana and the Illinois country. To test the possibilities of this new colonial program France sent Victor Collot and Count Constantin De Volney to visit and to explore these western lands in 1796–97.

In the reports on these investigations Collot[2] only mentions the Wabash settlements but Volney[3] wrote special appendices on the French settlements of Vincennes and the Indians of the Wabash. He was not much impressed with the villagers themselves but he did admire the French priest who was acting as missionary among them, Abbé Jean François Rivet.

This Abbé Rivet, unlike most of the French missionaries of the day, was a native of the new world, having been born at Grosmorne on the Island of Martinique in 1757,[4] the son of Jean Baptist Rivet and Marie Louise Lepoulart, formerly of Brive, France.

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* This paper was read at the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, April 18, 1946.—Editor.

[1] Arthur D. Darling, *Our Rising Empire, 1763–1803*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1940, 247 ff.

[2] Victor Collot, *A Journey in North America*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1826, I, 175–181.

[3] C. F. Volney, *View of the Climate and Soil of the United States*, London, 1804, 367–491.

[4] Vincennes Parish Records. Cf. Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789–1834*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1940, 77–106.

As a young man he had gone to Brive for his education. Continuing his studies at the college of Sarlet, he finally entered the Seminary of Limoges. Through the generosity of an aunt he received the necessary patrimony for ordination and was ordained priest on March 25, 1781. Having taught at the College of Sarlet before entering the seminary, he was elected professor of the *second class* of the Royal College of Limoges on December 16 of the same year. From November 13, 1784, to the outbreak of the Revolution he held the chair of professor of rhetoric in the same college, and during this time gave several notable public addresses before public assemblies. In 1791, with some confreres he fled to Madrid and later to Córdova, but he and his friends were forced to leave Spain because of pressure from the French government. Rivet decided to come to America.

The Abbé arrived in Baltimore on December 14, 1894,[5] with Father William DuBourg, another refugee, and went with him to the Sulpician Seminary for lodging. After a brief rest, Rivet visited Bishop John Carroll, of Baltimore, the Catholic Bishop of the United States, to offer his services. In the meantime, however, his request for a release from the Diocese of Limoges was refused by the administrator of that diocese,[6] partly because the administrator felt that diocese would need a man of his extraordinary talent after the Revolution and partly because his health was such that the administrator thought Rivet should not try to go into missionary work. Nevertheless, Carroll accepted Rivet's services for the missions of the Illinois country. Congress had authorized the Secretary of War to maintain some missionaries among the Indians and Carroll offered the services of Rivet and Abbé Pierre Janin, another refugee. William Dexter, the Secretary of War, in accepting them for the Wabash and Illinois Indians agreed to pay each missionary $200 a year for his maintenance. The two priests left Baltimore in January, 1795, and after travelling with an army detachment by way of Pittsburgh, arrived at Vincennes late in April. Janin went on to Kaskaskia and Rivet established himself temporarily in Vincennes and began making contacts with the Indians on the upper Wabash and on the St. Joseph River.[7]

The village of Vincennes along the banks of the Wabash at this time consisted of about 130 houses grouped about a fort and

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[5] Records of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Maryland.

[6] Letter of Romanet to Rivet, March 9, 1795, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[7] Letter of Rivet to Bishop John Carroll, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

the church. Winthrop Sargent[8] in his report, made about 1787, listed the French inhabitants as numbering about 738 men and women, and there were about 130 non-French. By 1795 the number of French had probably decreased, for we know that some of the more prominent families had crossed the Illinois country to go to New Madrid in the Spanish possessions. New American pioneers and traders had come to the settlement and their numbers were increasing each year. The village was laid out in rectangular squares and the houses were uniformly of upright timbers plastered with mud and whitewashed, with thatched roofs. The villagers were usually described as of swarthy complexion, with some traces of intermarriage with the Indians. Their clothes were homespun and buckskin with a peculiar attachment to blue in color. The church lot was not far from the river and contained a rectangular frame church with a bell tower, and there was a house in serious need of repair nearby for the priest.

Rivet, of course, came to Vincennes not as resident pastor but as missionary to the Indians. The villagers thought Abbé Benoit Flaget, who had left Vincennes a few weeks before Rivet's arrival, had gone only for a visit to Kaskaskia, since that Abbé could not bear to tell them that he had been recalled to Baltimore. Awaiting Flaget's return and while endeavoring to make contact with the Indians, Rivet began to minister to the neglected parish. In the meantime, he learned that the Indians spoke not a kind of French, as he had been told in Philadelphia, but a primitive language which he could not begin to understand and which he felt unprepared to learn. Further, the tribes were so depraved by the whiskey of the traders that the villagers warned him that it would be unsafe for him to go among them to live. Moreover, being almost without funds he could not afford to hire an interpreter or to furnish the gifts the Indians expected of the missionary. In the general poverty of Vincennes Rivet had to work hard to maintain his own existence. Since the promised government pay was slow in coming, Rivet thus found himself forced to stay at Vincennes and content himself with occasional visits to the Indians in the vicinity.

At first he suggested to Bishop Carroll that he be replaced by a man better prepared to meet the problems of his situation, and Carroll proposed sending him to Detroit to work with Father Michael Levadoux. But Levadoux preferred a Sulpician, and Rivet reconsidered the situation and asked to be left at Vincennes where

[8] Winthrop Sargent Papers, Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.

the ministrations of a priest were so badly needed. Carroll consented and Rivet set to work to revive the decaying faith and morals of the villagers.

The French village of Vincennes was a kind of stagnant pool left by the receding high tide of the early French empire in America. No longer fed by further French colonization from Europe and retaining but feeble connections with the chief centers of French culture in America, Quebec and Louisiana, the Wabash French were lapsing into a condition closely resembling that of their primitive Indian neighbors. Unfriendly travelers, writing critically of them, were quick to notice these evidences of primitiveness—their use of buckskin clothing and their addiction to the chase. But even their friends, the Abbés Flaget and Rivet, found their condition very sad. Three chief causes may be given for their neglected state beyond the cutting off of the life line from the mother country. The first was the absence of a suitable government after the departure of the last commandant, Louis St. Ange de Bellerive, in 1763. For the next twenty years, the English and Virginia representatives were not sufficiently established to govern successfully; the French, unaccustomed to self-government after the Revolution, awaited a commandant to check the growing chaos. No capable government was established until finally Congress, harkening to their petitions, sent Major John Hamtramck with a detachment of troops. The second cause of this sad state was the decline in the general welfare of the community, partly by reason of droughts and floods which ruined the farms and brought fevers and plagues to the inhabitants, and, partly by reason of the growing hostility of the Indians and the punitive expeditions of General Scott and Wilkinson which together had destroyed a once rich fur trade. Finally, there was the religious and social decay incident to the absence of missionaries and schools during the greater part of thirty years. Abbé Pierre Gibault had found things bad enough in 1785. He left in 1789. Conditions were worse when Flaget came in 1792. He had established a trade school and got some of the villagers back to church but was almost despondent when he was called to Baltimore in April, 1795. Seeing this sad condition, Rivet could and did regret his inability to do much for the Indians locked in their primitive condition by difficulties of language and the degrading influence of the traders' whiskey, but he also saw that the sad state of these French of Vincennes really challenged his priestly zeal. Rivet's zeal probably was equal to the task but his health was unequal to this zeal. Of his physical condition we know little except that he was frail and was suffering

from tuberculosis that finally took his life. But so long as he could get about, Rivet worked zealously.

In one of his early letters on Indian affairs written on January 11, 1796, to Bishop Carroll, Rivet added a note on the condition of these French, urging the Bishop to write a pastoral to the people to call them out of their lethargy. He claimed that they ignored the laws of the Church and refused to attend the Sunday services.

> I could enlarge upon this, and I could speak to you of the habitual state of drunkenness in which a shocking number of the faithful live, some of whom assist and even serve sometimes at the most holy functions full of taffia and whiskey, of the public concubinage, of the frequent breaking up of the home in which the parties separate with public scandal and often with the ruin of the children, of the inconceivable negligence of fathers and mothers, of masters and mistresses who should instruct the children or cause them to be instructed. I have found a great number of the age of 12, 13, 14 who are ignorant of the very elements of faith, and who do not know any prayers. And no effort of mine has succeeded in getting them to come regularly to cateschism.

Rivet saw before him a difficult assignment if these people were to be brought back to the practice of their religion. And he added a further problem about his health. He had been suffering from fever and could not find even the simplest medicines in the village. He begged Carroll to send him at least some quinine.

Four months later, writing on May 4, 1796,[9] after the lenten season, he notes that although there were about a hundred families with over three hundred communicants, only about eighty-eight came to Confession and fifty-two to Communion. He again begged the Bishop to write a pastoral to them on the need of religion. He added that the parents deprived their children of instruction until they were thirteen or fourteen years old, partly because of indifference and partly because they made the children work so hard that there was no time for instruction. Some of the children had begged with tears that their parents permit them to go to the instructions but had been refused. There was no schoolmaster, but he had forty children coming for instruction. Twenty-seven had made their first communion, but he feared these would soon forget the good instruction when they returned to the wild life of the village.

Rivet was particularly distressed at the villagers' attachment to dancing. These dances went on nearly every night and were continued frequently all night. They were attended by young and old and were continued even on Sundays and holydays. These, he com-

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[9] Rivet to Carroll, May 9, 1796, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

plained, were the only schools for the young. Marriages were frequently performed in private houses without any religious ceremony whatever. As to fasting and abstinence, they could not observe the full law of the Church and he asked Carroll to dispense them from the law on all but three days of the year so that some respect for the Church's law might be reestablished. He advanced the following reasons for the dispensation. First, the people were poor; secondly, such a dispensation had been granted to the Spanish people; and, thirdly, the villagers had only the meat of the chase and could not get it when they wanted it, going eight to fifteen days without any and then getting it when they least expected it.

Rivet examined the administration of the parish property. Under his direction the trustees formulated rules[10] for the care of the parish funds and property. These Rivet sent to Carroll, admitting that he had aided the trustees because most of the trustees did not know how to read or write, "having no knowledge except the way to plant corn."[11] The church building was in a sad state. The only ornaments on the altar were four wooden candlesticks. There was no altar rail, no confessional. The pews were just planks thrown together. The roof and the floor were of like primitiveness. Under the old rule the government had paid for burials, and the French expected him to pay for them now. He simply could not because he had no funds.

Rivet also added a postscript to the trustees' rules about the church lands, forty arpents by four, which he had rented out. The income was four hundred pounds, but from this he had had to pay for fences to keep out the Indians and animals. Further, for the public good he intended to build a levee or dyke which would protect the village and thus the fields from the floods of the Wabash River. This measure would improve the health of the village by eliminating stagnant pools and reclaim a very valuable strip of land, but after these expenses the returns from the church lands would be very small.

Reconciling himself to his limitations as an Indian missionary and turning his energy to the French at Vincennes, Rivet outlined to the Bishop his method of reconverting the French.[12] The people had laughed at him at first until they became convinced that

[10] Rivet to Carroll, August 10, 1796, *ibid.*; Rivet to Carroll, May 14, 1797, Covington Cathedral Archives; *Recueil des regles*, Vincennes Parish Records.

[11] Rivet to Carroll, August 6, 1796, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[12] Rivet to Carroll, October 26, 1796, *ibid.*

he was seeking only the salvation of their souls. Thus, he was able eventually to establish a catechism class on Sundays in which he prepared the twenty-seven for their first Communion. Gradually, he also attracted the parents and the children to catechism classes every day, sometimes twice a day. He taught the smallest children in the morning and the adults at night, with a third class for those who could not come regularly or were too advanced to profit by the ordinary class. He planned to have a novena before the feast of St. Francis Xavier, the patron of the parish, and on each of the nine days he would preach and have prayers and hymns. He expected few to come at first, but that he would finally win out.

Despite the promises made by the parishioners to keep the Bishop from taking him away, Rivet warned the Bishop that his sustenance could scarcely come from the parishioners themselves. They promised him six hundred pounds in goods or four hundred in skins, but he knew that he would have to go to law to get them. He worked in the village for his livelihood. His house, which had been built by Abbé Flaget, was in such a bad state that he had to spend the winter with others. Life, he added, would be unendurable were it not for the faithful few who did all they could for him.

It was at this time that Count Volney[13] visited the settlement. To enable the Count to see the Indians in council, Rivet arranged an Indian council in his house. Nothing particular happened, but Rivet was much disturbed when the commander of the American troops at the fort investigated the meeting. Volney was suspected of plotting with the Indians and the French for the return of these regions to France. When Rivet learned of these suspicions, he was at first indignant but then hastened to write to the Secretary of War[14] proclaiming his loyalty to the American government and advising the Secretary how to prevent any movement of the Indians toward the French.

Rivet, however, pointed out the reasons for the dissatisfaction among the French which Volney had noted. Volney blamed the French themselves for their sad state. Rivet pointed out other causes. Speaking of his conversations with Volney, Rivet wrote to Bishop Carroll:

> I argued much with him on the present condition of the French colony, formerly so flourishing and today almost entirely decayed. I do not see any other cause for it than in the evils of every kind which they had to suffer from

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Letter of Rivet to McHenry, November 28, 1796, Talbot Collection, Georgetown University.

the American government, and especially from the Indian war. It is certain that the government has cruelly mistreated them, that the country has been so given to pillage that no right has been observed in their regard, that they have made advances amounting to enormous sums and immense works, that nothing has been paid them, that the subsequent fall of the bank notes completed the total ruin of the country.[15]

Rivet had reference to the ravages of the Virginia troops under George Rogers Clark and the enforced acceptance of the continental currency under the Virginia regime, which had added the finishing touches to the impoverishment of the village. To Volney, Rivet gave a power of attorney to act for the village before Congress to regain some of their losses, hoping thereby to be enabled to establish a much needed school. But he did not hear from him again.

All his resources outside of the village failing, Rivet zealously set about to revive not only the spiritual welfare of his parishioners but also their material and social welfare. Their petitions to Congress were eventually answered by the grant of the Donation Lands but by that time most of the impoverished French had sold their claims for meager sums. Many of the French, including some of the trustees, gave up hope and crossed over to Spanish Louisiana. When William Henry Harrison came to Vincennes to establish the capital of the Territory, he recognized the unusual gifts of the priest and invited him to table and proposed to start a college with Rivet as the instructor in the classics.[16] In the meantime, Harrison and the judges of the Territory asked Rivet to take charge of the education of their children. What other work Rivet did to make his small government pay suffice for his existence we do not know. He received little from the parish, although the people made frequent promises of aid to keep him from going away. At first, he spent the winter in the small houses of some of his parishioners, frequently amid embarrassing scenes. At last, in May, 1798, the new presbytery was sufficiently completed for occupancy, but the architecture was so incompetent that the fireplace could not be used and the building itself was in constant need of repair.

Rivet made but slow progress in reestablishing the observance of the rules of the Church among his parishioners. His excommunications for civil marriages were only sometimes effective. The oldest inhabitants were the most remiss in observing the Church laws. For a while he succeeded in checking the excessive dancing but in January, 1802, he noted in his letter to Bishop Carroll a tendency back

[15] Rivet to Carroll, October 26, 1796.
[16] Rivet to Carroll, October 10, 1801, Covington Cathedral Archives.

to old extremes. A visit to the Illinois country in 1799 which he made as Vicar General of Bishop Carroll, contrary to his fears, greatly improved his health. In his letters about that time, Rivet seems to have been most effective as the pastor of the French. Out of respect for his ability and perhaps out of gratitude, they offered to elect him to the territorial assembly at Cincinnati.[17] He refused but did accept an election as commissioner of taxes.

In the fall of 1799, however, a plague of fever attacked the village and one half of the Vincennes population was ill. Rivet himself seems to have caught the fever and his health again declined. He made his will and drew up plans for his successor. Even worse than the previous year was 1800. A late summer drought was followed by a short rainy spell, insufficient to reopen the shrunken rivers but sufficient to bring a new plague of fevers in a spell of hot weather that followed. Because of the condition of the rivers the usual supplies from Detroit for the winter did not arrive, and the mills had to be operated with horses. In October, 1800, he spoke of having three burials a day.[18]

The misery, however, does not seem to have increased the fervor of his parishioners, although he had retained a nucleus of faithful souls. The friendship of Governor Harrison seems to have been the only bright spot in his social life. Spiritually he found consolation in his books and his prayers. His spiritual testament,[19] found among his papers, shows that his greatest consolations were not sought in worldly accomplishments. In 1801, a Mr. Mackdonas came from Baltimore with a sum of $400 and began to conduct a school. Lacking a school house, the school was conducted temporarily in Rivet's house. Another sum being brought by a trader from Baltimore was embezzled by the trader. The church was again falling into decay and the parishioners did nothing to save it. He admitted that they were too poor to give the necessary funds to build a new church.

In October, 1802, a new plague of fevers attacked the village. Vincennes, he noted, had become a regular hospital. He himself again contracted the fever. He was unable to revisit the Illinois country. Evidently the consumption, which had been recessive for some time, began again to be active. His friends in France wrote to him urging that he return to France, and while the invitations

[17] Rivet to Carroll, May 12, 1799, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
[18] Rivet to Carroll, October 14, 1802, *ibid.*
[19] Vincennes Papers, Archives of University of Notre Dame.

were pleasing to him he refused to abandon his poor parish. In the meantime, he set about to increase the inheritance of his successors, buying additional land from which the future pastor might be able to support himself. And he wrote to Bishop Carroll urging that when the end came—and he knew that it was approaching—his successor be appointed immediately lest the results of his seven years' labors be lost.

Death, however, came to the valiant priest, "Le Pauvre Missionaire" as he usually signed himself, on February 12, 1804, without the attendance of a fellow-priest. He had himself carried to the church to give himself Communion and wrote out the list of his faults, meagre though they must have been, for the neighboring missionary who came too late to attend him. In his will[20] he asked to be buried not in the church but among his people and that a crucifix be erected over his grave, so that his parishioners, seeing it, would be reminded to say the prayers and aspirations he had so often taught them.

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[20] Will found in records of Knox County, Indiana.

German Missionary Writers in Paraguay

I. Missionary Spirit in the Germanies

Historians have rather consistently valued the narratives, letters, and records bequeathed to us by missionaries of past centuries. They have culled much data from the writings of the men who first came into contact with peoples in a primative stage of development. Frequently now we find men of other branches of learning, ethnologists, geographers, linguists, sociologists, cartographers, and anthropologists, searching the writings of missionaries who little thought that their observations apart from the religious aspects would ever become part of scientific research. The modern investigator has generally exhibited a trust in statements found in mission literature, chiefly because the self-sacrificing lives of the authors preclude deception. Irrespective of creed the modern scholar by his citations of authorities bears witness to the fact that much of our knowledge of the Amerind, Asiatic, and African customs, languages, religions, society, and cultural stages rests upon the word of religious pathfinders. These, by reason of their many letters to their homelands, have made religious houses treasure troves of information for researchers.

Materials from the French missionaries in North America have long been regarded as monumental. More recently the Spanish American school of historians revealed that to the south lay far more vast and comprehensive bundles of material.[1] Still more recently bulky quantities of letters and writings of missionaries in the Brazilian scene, familiar in Portuguese to Brazilians for a century, are being studied. None of the South American countries is outside the pale of modern research. The national libraries and archives of every republic contain voluminous documents which originated in the course of three centuries of mission endeavor. For example, the Bibliotéca Nacional at Santiago, Chile, possesses 478 volumes containing 2752 documents relative to the Jesuit activity in Chile alone.[2] It is clear now that just as the early enthusiasm

[1] Herbert E. Bolton, "The Black Robes of New Spain," *American Catholic Historical Review*, XXI (October, 1935), and "The Jesuits in America: An Opportunity for Historians," MID-AMERICA, XVIII (October, 1936).

[2] Bernard Arens, S.J., *Jesuitenorden und Weltmission*, Regensburg, 1937, 168.

about the French missionaries of New France kept many notable North American developments in obscurity so too the great stress on the Paraguay reductions hid others from view. "Missions" generally meant Paraguay Reductions, Jesuits in New France, and the California missions, each with its distinctive and popular appeal.

It would seem that further word about the Paraguay Reductions were unnecessary. But new ethnological and cultural interest has been aroused both in the United States and in Argentina.[3] Since much of the Spanish documentation pertains to the earlier phases of the mission progress,[4] it may be opportune to call attention to the later phase and to one of the prime reasons for the constantly reviving interest in central South American field—the literary activity of German and middle-European Jesuits in the late seventeenth Century. A like activity on the part of Father Kino and other Jesuits from inner Europe has been amply indicated by Dr. Bolton with respect to our Southwest.[5]

As everyone conversant with mission history knows, the non-Latin peoples of Europe contributed very little to the South American field in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The reasons are not difficult to find. Internal strifes, plagues, poverty, foreign wars, the Mohammedan threat, the religious disputes, the exclusionism of Spain, each played its part. Franciscans, Dominicans and Mercedarians made entrances with the *conquistadores*. Shortly

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[3] See for example, the monographs of Father G. Furlong-Cardiff: *Los Jesuitas y la Cultura Rioplatense*, Montevideo, 1933; *La Personalidad y la Obra de Tomas Falkner, 1707–1784*, Buenos Aires, 1929, and other books and articles; Alfred Métraux, "The Contribution of the Jesuits to the Exploration and Anthropology of South America," MID-AMERICA, XXVI (July, 1944); Peter M. Dunne, "The Jesuit Archives at Buenos Aires," *ibid.*, XXVII (January, 1945).

[4] Father Carlos Leonhardt's work in Volumes XIX (1927), XX (1929), and XXXIV (1936), of the *Documentos Para La Historia Argentina*, Buenos Aires, and Pablo Pastells' *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, Madrid, 1912, are well known; for a bibliography of the earlier writers see José Découde, *List of Books, Magazine Articles and Maps relating to Paraguay*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1904; for an amplification and continuation of this there is Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Aachen: Aachener Missionsdruckerei, 8 volumes, 1927, and the continuations of this to date in *Bibliografia Missionaria*, compiled by G. Rommerskirchen and G. Dindinger, and published by the Unione Missionaria del Clero in Italia, Rome. Scarcely a year passes without producing some study of the Paraguay missions.

[5] Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 594. For particular studies inspired by Dr. Bolton see Ursula Schaefer, "Father Baegert and his *Nachrichten*," MID-AMERICA, XX (July, 1938); Theodore Treutlein, "Father Pfefferkorn and his Description of Sonora," *Ibid.*, XX (October, 1938), "The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician," *Ibid.*, XXII (April, 1940), and "The Relation of Philipp Segesser," *Ibid.*, XXVII (July, 1945).

after their arrival, they set about their work of converting natives only to discover the vastness of the task before them. The call for help from middle Europe could not be answered but it went up constantly from section after section of the ever widening American scene.

The Jesuits lacked numbers. In accordance with an order of the Jesuit General dated January 3, 1562, the German Province of the Society of Jesus was to send no members to any foreign missions, since their services were much needed at home. "Germany was to be regarded as their India."[6] This prohibition did not prevent numerous Jesuits of middle Europe from volunteering for the missions, and, as time went on, developing a great spirit of zeal as accounts of the labors and martyrdoms of their southern brethren began to reach the Germanies. At length, in 1616, four young Jesuits were designated for South America. Andreas Agricola of Engen in Baden was sent to Paraguay; Kaspar Ruess of Haunstetten near Augsburg, Ferdinand Reinmann of Meran in the Tyrol, and Michael Durst of Augsburg were destined for Peru.[7] While some Jesuit superiors opposed the move, foreseeing the need of men in an anticipated religious revival in the Germanies, others reflected in letters the great joy which prevailed in the various Jesuit houses over the news. Despite the enthusiasm about the beginning of German Jesuit foreign missionary activity, Father Huonder's most as-

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[6] Anton Huonder, S.J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (a supplementary number of *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, 74), Freiburg and St. Louis, 1899, page 11. Part Two of this work, one of the many contributions of Huonder, contains a complete classified, and alphabetical list of all German Jesuits who went to all foreign missions during the two centuries indicated. It will be cited hereafter as Huonder.

(Editor's note: Two years after this paper was prepared the Faculties of Philosophy and Theology of the Seminary of San Miguel, Province of Buenos Aires, with the collaboration of the Institution Cultural Argentino-Germana, Buenos Aires, published Volume 15 of its series: Vicente D. Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos en la Conquista espiritual de Hispano-America, Siglos XVII-XVIII*, Buenos Aires, 1944. Full credit is given to Father Huonder, the historian of the German Assistancy of the Society of Jesus, for establishing the basis of the volume, and in an appendix following Huonder's alphabetical arrangement of names, we have a translation with some corrections of the *Deutsche Jesuiten-missionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* biographical sketches, without, however, much of the reference and bibliographical data. To almost every one of our footnotes there could be added a reference to pages in this work, but this seems hardly necessary. Attention of the researchers must be called to Sierra's bibliography and to the citations of manuscripts in the various South American archives as one of the most needed and important contributions of recent times. See also citations in part III of this article.)

[7] "Die erste Aussendung deutscher Jesuiten in die Missionen," *Die Katholischen Missionen*, Freiburg, XLI (October 1912–September 1913), 10–11. More will be said about this periodical later.

siduous research reveals that only twenty were sent to the Americas between 1620 and 1670. It becomes clear that the missionary spirit of the middle Europeans instead of being confined to a southeastern direction and to Mohammedan lands was enjoying its outlet to colonial primitive tribes and to pagan lands throughout the world. From 1670 to 1770 the number going to all foreign missions was well over 800, including not only those from what is now Germany but those bearing Czech, Polish, Dutch, Flemish, Lithuanian, and Hungarian names, and excluding an indefinite number who changed their names or whose names were lost in the days of the suppression of the Society.[8] These were distributed in colonies of the world controlled by various European countries.

For men imbued with the missionary spirit, Paraguay loomed as an ideal land for hunting souls.[9] The way to the land at first lay through Spain and Portugal, thence to Peru, Buenos Aires, or Brazil. Early Franciscans found tractable peoples in the land. It lured the Jesuits from the year 1550 when Father Manuel Nóbrega and Father Leonardo Nunes met some of the Guaraní and sought to establish missions beyond the Portuguese territories of Brazil in the land of Paraguay.[10] The boundaries of Paraguay in early colonial times encircled nearly the whole central part of South America, including, as far as the Jesuits were concerned, such larger tribes as the Guayrá of southern Brazil, the Chiquitos of southeastern Bolivia and into the Gran Chaco, the Guaraní for the length of the Uruguay River in Uruguay, Brazil and Argentina, the Abipon of the Argentine area east of the Paraná, the Mocobi of the Argentine west of the Paraná River, and Chile until 1623. In fine, the province was the drainage basin of the whole La Plata River system. In 1607, this area was designated as one province by the Jesuits, who had established their main college at Córdoba and others at Asunción and Tucumán. Of the 173 Jesuits martyred in the Americas, twenty-eight were slain in Paraguay. In 1614, this province had 122 members in eighteen residences;[11] at the end of the seventeenth century the number had doubled; in 1763, four years before the

[8] Huonder, 206.

[9] The purpose and achievements of the missionaries is given in Bruno Garsch, *Der Einfluss der Jesuiten Missionen auf den Wandel der Naturlandschaft zur Kulturlandschaft im Stromgebiet des Paraguay-Paraná während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, Breslau, 1934.

[10] Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Nóbrega of Brazil," MID–AMERICA, XXIV (July, 1942), 163, 168–169.

[11] Antonio Astrain, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España*, Madrid, 1902–1925, IV, 643; see also A. Huonder sub "Reductions," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 690, for statistics and the organization of the missions.

suppression of the Jesuits, 564 members were in the 57 reductions, the schools, and nine colleges. There is little wonder then that such an area over so long a period of time should have become the object of much writing and an excellent illustration of a great missionary spirit.

German Jesuits can claim no share in the founding of the numerous seventeenth century reductions in Paraguay. The few who reached the scene beginning with Andreas Agricola (1616) down to Father Anthony Sepp von Reinegg (1691) labored in the already existing reductions or in the colleges. During the last decade of that century the relaxation of royal decrees against missionaries foreign to Spain, the success of the Germans already there, the increase in the number of members in the German provinces, and the constant appeals from the Spanish American provincials aided in getting more men from middle Europe, who became founders of new missions and authors of many informative letters. The newcomers were not backward in writing about these labors.

Viewing the extent of the reductions at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we find twenty-two Guaraní villages on the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers, numbering 90,000 souls. To the northwest, the Chiquito missions, founded in 1692, were just beginning to develop into the eleven which eventuated. There remained to be reduced the far more difficult and many-tongued "mounted tribes" of the Gran Chaco. Toward these fierce warrior tribes the newcomers could turn their attention. The conversion of the Abipon and Mocobi was accomplished largely by the labors of the German Jesuits. A catalogue of 1738, reporting the status of the missions along the Paraná and right bank of the Uruguay, mentions thirty missionaries, thirteen of whom were Germans, and six of these superiors. Despite some casualties in 1748, there were forty-one in the various missions and two others in the College of Córdoba. Eight fathers who began the journey from Germany never reached Paraguay but perished in two shipwrecks, one in 1716, the other in 1744, while several others died of fevers shortly after their arrival. During the century and and a half after 1616, of the hundreds of priests going from the Germanies to American shores, Paraguay's share was 122, all of whom are known by name.[12]

Because of the wide variety of interests and attainments in crafts and arts the majority of these missionaries were capable observers as well as teachers, and many of them had long years of

[12] Huonder, 139–151.

service in which to observe the natives as they developed from a primitive to an organized social existence. During the hundred years of German activity most of the forty-eight Jesuit lay-brothers who served in Paraguay for any length of time were in the cities noted as architects, carpenters, book-binders, sculptors, tailors, apothecaries, watchmakers, infirmarians, and catechists. The fathers generally went to the missions for which they had volunteered, there to learn the languages and do what missionaries did to elevate the neophytes. Father Brigniel is famed for his thirty-nine years of service, eleven among the Guaraní, six a superior of the College of Corrientes, and the remainder in the trying Abipon reductions. Father Dobrizhoffer's record shows eighteen years in the wild Chaco, and Father Joseph Klein persevered twenty years in the same region. Father Johann Mesner labored thirty-one years among the Chiquitos and died on the heights of the Andes while being deported to Peru. Others like Father Strobel (Estrobel) were constantly on the move from one station to another for from twenty to thirty years. But the crown for length of service seems to belong jointly to Father Martin Schmid and Father Sepp; the former spent forty-one years in the Chiquito Missions, and the latter, forty-one years in various Paraguayan missions. Others, such as Fathers Pfitzer and Orosz, being obliged to teach philosophy and theology at Córdoba while the mission fields lay ripening, considered their lives misspent.[13]

Men of these types and attainments produced a very considerable amount of literature which offers wide scope for various kinds of study, and their names held in veneration in German missionary annals as inaugurators and fosterers of the mission spirit. There is Father Sepp and his *Reisbeschreibung*, a travel record written with inviting charm.[14] Then there is the famed *Der Neue Welt-Bott* of Father Stöcklein, who never got to mission lands but exerted a powerful influence upon their development. Father Florian Paucke's *Ein deutscher Missionär in Paraguay 1749–1768* is a notable source from which many writers have drawn information. Father Dobrizhoffer and one of the editions of his *History of the Abipones* will always be cited whenever eighteenth century Paraguay missions are mentioned. The spirit and the form of writing to which these men gave birth in Germany, although long flourishing in other lands, has been kept alive by a succession of German writers, notably since 1873 in *Die Katholischen Missionen.*

[13] *Ibid.* Since Huonder lists these names alphabetically there seems no need to footnote each one here.

[14] These works will be given detailed treatment in the following pages.

II. Anthony Sepp von Reinegg

Father Sepp has been called one of the most conspicuous figures in missionary history,[15] and, judging by the number of printings of his writing, a highly influential figure. He was born at Kaltern in the Tyrol in 1655, the son of a noble family. He became a member of the Society of Jesus in 1674. We have knowledge of his subsequent career through a series of lengthy letters, the first of which was addressed to his distinguished brother, Gabriel Sepp von und zu Reinegg. After his ordination to the priesthood and appointment to the mission, he arrived at Genoa in July, 1689. Delays and vicissitudes, including attacks by robbers, prevented his sailing for a year and a half, but finally he put out from Cádiz on January 17, 1691. On the journey of three and a half months he kept minute report of birds, stars, weather, storms, and fish. Fourteen long, closely printed columns are needed to reproduce this diary, which comprises the first part of his "Reisbeschreibung."[16]

His personal experiences are of greater interest, showing that the writer was a keen observer of weather and storms, of wind and stars, birds and fish and whatever else seemed new and worthy of

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[15] Carl Platzweg, *Lebensbilder deutscher Jesuiten in auswärtigen Missionen*, Paderborn, 1882, 155; from Sommervogel, VII, 1129–1131, we gather that Sepp has one letter published in the *Lettres édifiantes*, 1843 edition, II, 242–248, another in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, the diary of his journey, under the heading of "Reisbeschreibung," and the letters continuing his description of Paraguay written together with Father Böhm; these latter were published in whole and in part variously for years before the *Welt-Bott* appeared; the editions were Brixen, 1696; Nuremberg, 1697; Passau, 1698; Ingoldstadt, 1701, 1709, 1710, 1712; London, 1704 (see next note). This was an indication of interest in travel and missions which led to the *Welt-Bott*.

[16] The original diary letters under this title are in *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, Vol. I, Part II, No. 48, pages 40–60. An English translation of these with additional letters written after 1693 is found in H. C. Awnsham and John Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* . . . (from original manuscripts . . . translated from the High Dutch original printed at Nuremberg, 1697, . . . and the Latin of F. Nicholas Techo, S.J.), Vol. IV, London, 1704. The translators have an "Advertisement to the Reader" which is worth citing: "The Reverend Fathers Anthony Sepp and Anthony Behme, with several other Zealous Jesuits, being inflamed with a holy Zeal for the propagating of the Catholick Faith in far distant Countries; resolved with a great deal of Chearfulness to leave their Native Country. And Travelling into Spain, took upon them the holy Function of Missionaries, for the Conversion of the Infidels, and the Instruction of the already Converted Indians in Paraquaria, a Province of the Western America. After their Arrival at Buenos Ayres, the said Father Sepp, having thought fit to send an Account of this Voyage, together with a Description of that Country, its Inhabitants, Manners, Government, etc. in two letters sent to Germany; the same were thought absolutely Worthy to be Published, for the many remarkable Things contained therein, and scarce known before in these Parts."

notice. Modern readers will no doubt find greater interest, however, in reading of his personal experiences.

There were forty-four missionaries on board, all members of the Society of Jesus, but of the most varied tongues and from varied climes. Father Sepp expressly mentions Spaniards, Italians, Netherlanders, Sicilians, Sardinians, Genoese, Romans, Bohemians, Austrians, and himself, a Tyrolese, with his faithful friend Father Anthony Böhm (Behme), a Bavarian. The expedition consisted of three vessels, each of which was provided with some fifty guns. These galleons sailed infrequently, but Father Sepp's report is one to prove that a trip to the Indies was an affair of major importance. The ship which conveyed the missionaries likewise transported several Spanish governors and their entire families, numerous merchants, clerks, barbers, colored slaves, 200 soldiers, and 100 sailors, besides every kind of "riff-raff." The captain apparently tried to show some deference to the missionaries when he vacated cabins for each of them. Notwithstanding this courtesy, there must have been small comfort, especially for such as Father Böhm whose "great length" must have been seriously inconvenienced in a compartment which measured exactly five feet by three. There were other circumstances which defied all laws of civilized existence: 600 hens, 280 sheep, 150 hogs were on board, not however to serve as food for the passengers. They were served with unspeakable rations which had been collected a whole year previously when the vessel had been delayed. "How eagerly," says Father Sepp, "did we endeavor to catch the fresh rain water in our hats that we might quench our thirst. But the more our bodies were tortured with these sufferings, the more were our souls filled with sweet consolation."[17]

The arrival of this band of missionaries in Buenos Aires on April 6, 1591, was the start of a steady stream of Jesuits from Germany to the fruitful vineyard of Paraguay. A warmer welcome could not have been accorded them than that offered by the Spanish Jesuits and their provincial, Father Gregory de Oresco. After a sojourn of one month in Buenos Aires, their work began, the younger men continued their studies, while the others were sent out to reinforce the missionaries on the Paraná and the Uruguay. Three hundred christian Indians were waiting with their boats to accompany them. But it seemed a strange procedure to the newly arrived Fathers that they were not permitted to embark until after

[17] *Welt-Bott*, Vol. I, Part 2, Letter No. 48, page 42.

a four-hour trip from Buenos Aires. The reason for this was the well enforced law that christian Indians were not to enter the Spanish towns, lest they be corrupted by European morals.

It was a delightful trip up the stream, and Father Sepp was filled with admiration on seeing the luxuriant vegetation. With the aid of Father Böhm, he erected a cross on a small elevation, hoping and praying that there might soon be a church to take its place. One year later, in 1692, Father Böhm led a group of newly converted Indians to the same spot and called the settlement San Joachim. One incident, very characteristic of the simple natives, is recorded in this part of the narrative. The party was met one morning by a group of pagan Indians who assured them of their peaceful designs; their sole desire was to sell some horses to the strangers. When inquiry was made as to the price, one desired a needle, another a knife, still another a bit of tobacco or a fishhook. The fathers gave them more than was requested and received twenty fine, strong horses for trinkets whose combined value was scarcely one dollar!

After a journey of four weeks up the Uruguay, the missionaries reached their destination, a christian reduction dedicated to the Three Holy Kings at Yapeyú.[18] Their reception might have done honor to a king. A sort of native militia, some 1000 strong, accompanied by the fathers, escorted them to the church, while bells were rung and Psalm 116 was sung. Father Sepp says that he was particularly impressed by the christian Indian women, not one of whom was seen to move nor to be disturbed in her devotion. On the following day, Pentecost Sunday, Father Sepp offered the Holy Sacrifice for the first time in his new abode. This was the beginning of forty-one years of service which terminated with his death in the San José reduction in 1733. To catch the spirit of the missions that Sepp imparted, one must pick out some details of his work and example, so effective in arousing a desire for foreign missions in his homeland, while many informative items must be passed over.

Each christian reduction was cared for by two fathers, assisted sometimes by a lay brother. At Father Sepp's time, there existed twenty-six of these reductions, each of which harbored from 3000

[18] Yapeyú was on the right or west bank of the Uruguay River, some 300 miles south of Asunción and directly east of the Abipon reductions. See for a convenient map the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. XII, sub "Reductions," or Pablo Hernández, S.J., *Organizacion Social de las Doctrinas Guaranies de la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, 1913, or, based on this, M. Fassbinder, *Der "Jesuitenstaat" in Paraguay*, Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1926.

to 7000 Indians. Like St. Paul, the missionaries were "all to all." They were not only the spiritual fathers of their people, but also the directors of choirs and bands, architects and gardeners, cooks and craftsmen. Father Sepp significantly remarks in his letter: "The missionary must serve too as physician and infirmarian, but God help him if he himself falls ill!"[19] As for sick and dying Indians, the writer seems positively to envy their peaceful frame of mind in the face of death. He calls their meekness, patience, and confidence truly admirable; and he pauses to inform us as to the source of such composure:

> The father of a family knows that the missionary will provide for the needs of his widow and his children. No recollection of debts can disturb him, for he has no debts .... There are no anxieties concerning a last will and testament, for he has nothing to bequeath. Lastly, there are no animosities, no jealousies because there are no private possessions.[20]

One secret of Father Sepp's popularity among the Indians was his decided talent and love for music. He had enjoyed a careful training in Augsburg from the episcopal choir master, both in vocal and in instrumental music. These cultural accomplishments he patiently set out to teach the natives whose natural gifts enabled them to respond in a most surprising manner. Their love for music attracted crowds of Indians to the religious services organized by Father Sepp, and the wise missionary utilized this circumstance to win their souls to God. Children in particular loved to be near him.

The letter concludes with a description of a Paraguay missionary's clothing and personal appearance and an account of his order of the day. The latter was certainly no sinecure. The day began before dawn. An hour's meditation was made in the church, whereupon the Mass followed immediately after sunrise. Thereafter the daily routine included the hearing of confessions, instruction of the children, and visits to the sick. After assisting the sufferers both spiritually and bodily, the schools were visited, where boys were taught reading and writing, the girls knitting, spinning and sewing. A period of intensive rehearsing, such as Father Sepp next describes, must have filled several hours. There were, besides the various sections of the choir, six harpists, four organists and others to be heard; and there was the dancing school, which the writer warns his readers not to underrate or to criticize, since it was customary in

[19] *Welt-Bott*, I, 2, No. 48, 54. On this subject see Theodore Treutlein, "The Jesuit Missionary in the Role of Physician," MID-AMERICA, XXII (April, 1940), whose scene was the area of New Spain.

[20] *Welt-Bott*, I, 2, No. 48, 54.

Paraguay as it is in Spain for the boys to dance in the religious processions. One should imagine that the father might now be entitled to some repose, but there were still the workshops to be inspected. Carpenters, weavers, bakers, blacksmiths, millers, butchers, and carvers, all looked to the missionary for direction and encouragement. At four o'clock in the afternoon all adult Christians assembled to say the rosary in common; whereupon burial services were sometimes held. Even during the hours of the night, the missionary had to be ready for frequent emergency calls.[21]

And this was the daily life of service which a missionary not infrequently led for many years. We have several references to Father Sepp in the letters of later missionaries, all of which give eloquent testimony of the great veneration and esteem with which he was universally regarded. Father Betschon, another German Jesuit, writes in 1719:

> On August 7th Father Anthony Sepp came sailing down the river to visit us—this great founder of missions, a true apostle of Paraguay. He greeted us in German, but in a very uncertain and halting manner, not having spoken his mother tongue for 27 years.[22]

From Buenos Aires we have a letter written by Father Karl Rechberg. The same is dated 1725 and contains this reference: "The venerable old missionary, Father Anthony Sepp, who has for many years been head of the mission Santa Cruz, is still cheerful and comparatively active."[23]

His brilliant success in the musical training of the Indians is commented upon by Father Matthias Strobel (Estrobel) in his highly interesting letter of June 15, 1729.

> The Paraguarians do not owe these and their other accomplishments to the Spaniards, but rather to the German and Flemish Jesuits, in particular to Father Anthony Sepp of the Upper German province. Being the first to have introduced harps, cornets, clarinets, and the organ into these parts has earned for him undying praise. This apostle, now far advanced in years, is still laboring unaided in his mission of Santa Cruz.[24]

Finally, we have Father Francis Magg writing as late as May 3, 1730, from the reduction of Santa Cruz:

> I consider it a special grace to have been assigned to the reduction of Santa Cruz in Paraguay, because here I shall be able to acquire the true principles of apostolic life under the guidance of our zealous, pious and aged Father

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[21] *Ibid.*, I, 2, No. 48, 59.
[22] *Ibid.*, I, 7, No. 169, 62.
[23] *Ibid.*, II, 9, No. 232, 28.
[24] *Ibid.*, III, 23–24, No. 510, 130.

Sepp. You would scarcely believe me were I to tell you all that this great man has done for the glory of God and the salvation of the Indians. He has built in this reduction a magnificent church, the beauty of which is equal to any in our province, Munich excepted. In order to prevent the attacks of hostile Indians, he has had the entire settlement surrounded by trenches and a stone wall. Huts of straw have disappeared, and homes of stone have succeeded them. He has taught the Indians the blessings of labor, industry and economy. Moreover, by his wise counsel, he has caused agriculture to flourish. Savages have been tamed and converted into exemplary Christians. To follow in the footsteps of this illustrious man, to imitate the splendor of his virtuous life is the ambition and longing of my life.[25]

This was the evaluation of Father Sepp's life and labor as it was viewed by one who was privileged to witness the glorious sunset of his life. We have in these excerpts indications of the *esprit de corps* of the missionaries.

III. Stöcklein's "New World Messenger"

The man who shared this spirit and by the labor of his pen, communicated it widely to generations of Europeans was Father Stöcklein, editor of the famed "New World Messenger." Father Joseph Stöcklein was born in Oetting, Bavaria, in 1676, on July 31, the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola, "significant day in view of his future activity as a Jesuit" as his biographer observes.[26] After completing his studies with admirable distinction at the University of Vienna, he entered the Society of Jesus upon his ordination on October 9, 1700. He served for seven years as pastor in Hungary and as rector at Neustadt. At that time, many Jesuits were serving as military chaplains in the wars against the Turks and in the wars of Spanish Succession. Father Stöcklein became one of those who accompanied Prince Eugene to Serbia. In all he served in eleven campaigns, distinguishing himself not only as a preacher, but also by his devotion to the sick and by his zeal in correcting abuses among the soldiery. Persons of the highest rank were eager to secure his services, and special mention is made of his outstanding linguistic talents. Besides possessing a mastery of the principal current

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[25] *Ibid.*, IV, 29, No. 558, 44.

[26] Father Francis Keller, one of Stöcklein's successors and editor of Parts 29 to 38 of the *Welt-Bott*, wrote an obituary in the form of a circular in 1733 and later printed this in Part XXIX of the *Welt-Bott* as No. 572; Sommervogel, IV, 980–981. In this Keller describes Stöcklein's career and methods of editing; Stöcklein, of course, gives considerable explanations in the various Forewords of the parts. Sommervogel, VII, 1585, in his biographical items about Stöcklein, gives the date of his birth as July 30, rather than Keller's July 31.

languages of his time, he read and wrote Greek and Hebrew with fluency; and it was because of his profound knowledge of the Hebrew Bible that he was sought by Jews who wished instruction in Christianity.

His work on the *Welt-Bott*[27] began when he was forced to adopt a more retired life in consequence of his broken health. At first he began to read the "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses" of the French Jesuits as a form of relaxation. But soon his interest was aroused to intensity which ceased only at death.

The first object of Father Stöcklein's efforts was to make the French letters accessible by publishing them for German readers; but as soon as word got around of his project, German Jesuits sent him Latin letters for translation and publication. From among these he selected the best and most interesting, re-arranging, re-editing and writing prefaces and explanations. He was a fast worker and usually spent ten hours daily on the *Welt-Bott,* after sacrificing sleep and recreation. Next, he secured illustrations and authentic maps, and by 1726 the first volume consisting of 216 letters, arranged in eight parts, was ready.

This laborious undertaking was not merely a matter of personal

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[27] As to the title: the first page of Volume I has simply: *Der Neue Welt-Bott, mit allerhand Nachrichten dern Missionariorum Soc. Iesu.* The title page has *Der Neüe Welt-Bott, mit allerhand nachrichten deren Missionarien Soc. Iesu,* in a scroll above an elaborate drawing in the center of which is a quotation from St. Luke, II, 10, "I bring you great joy," and at the foot of which is another quotation, St. Luke XIII, 29, "There shall come from east and west and north and south." The next page continues: "Allerhand so Lehr-als Geist-reiche Brief / Schrifften und Reis-Beschreibungen / welche von denen Missionariis der Gesellschrafft Jesu aus Beyden Indien / und andern über Meer gelegenen Ländern / Seit an. 1642. bis auf des Jahr 1726. in Europa Angelangt seynd. Jetzt zum erstenmal Theils aus Hand-schrifftlichen Urkunden / Theils aus denen Französischen Lettres Edifiantes verteutscht / und zusammen getragen von Joseph Stöcklein / gedachter Societät Jesu Priester. // Erster Bund oder die 8. Erste Theil. Cum privilegio Caesareo & Superiorum Facultate ac Indice locupletissimo. // Augsburg und Gratz / In Verlag Philips / Martins / und Joh. Veith sill Erben / Buckhändlern / 1726."

The remainder of the six volumes were published by 1761. For descriptions of the work see "P. Joseph Stöcklein's Neuer Welt-Bott," Anon., in *Die Katholischen Missionen,* XXXIII (October 1904-September 1905), St. Louis, 1905, 2, and also Charles G. Herbermann, "Der Neue Welt-Bott," in *Historical Records and Studies,* The United States Catholic Historical Society, Volume VIII, New York, 1915, 157–167; this article is followed by a translation of one of the letters from the *Welt-Bott,* that of Father Adam Gilg from Mexico with a letter of Father Kino incorporated. The first volume has five parts, each of 116 pages except the last which has 120; apparently Part II containing letters written between 1688 and 1700, was printed before Part I which has the letters from 1642–1687, for Part II is dated 1725, while Parts I, III, IV and V, and the first three parts of Volume II are dated 1726. An Index ends these eight parts, then the date 1727 is on the other three parts of Volume II.

enthusiasm, nor a hobby as it might be styled today, but it was a vocation. His vision of the missions was worldwide. The author himself enumerates his reasons for launching the project and sums up in no less than eleven points the good which he hopes will be realized thereby. People generally would become interested in strange and unknown places and peoples; they would learn of the work of the missions and of the joys and sufferings of the missionaries. Theologians would acquire information on strange religions, lawyers and statesmen on the institutions of other lands; physicians on diseases and their cures; scientists and philosophers on the secrets of nature and the peculiar phenomena of plant and animal life. Mathematicians, astronomers, and seafarers would "have many of their doubts" settled by missionaries who were experts in science. Geographers would have first-hand information and reliable maps; moralists would gain an insight into many problems by making comparisons, while historians would add immeasurably to their store of knowledge. Lastly, priests and religious would be forced to conclude that even the most rigorous mode of life is not to be compared with the stern practices of some pagan rites or the strenuous lives of the missionaries. The editor's hopes were not disappointed, for scholars in every field of learning secured copies of the *Welt-Bott*, not only because of its own attractiveness, but also because of its news and valuable information.

Father Stöcklein's reputation for thoroughness was never doubted because his sources were always reliable. In fact, his translations of the French letters were superior to the French editions themselves which were frequently curtailed and revised to such a degree as to lose much inherent value. The original German reports are especially charming in their simplicity. As the preface to Part One informs us, the editor "has taken originals for the first time from the dust of archives." The value of his project was soon recognized. Father Retz, the provincial in Bohemia and later General of the Society of Jesus, ordered that all letters from the missions be forwarded to the editor of the *Welt-Bott* who was to select the best, make copies of the originals and return them to their owners. The State archives in Vienna still preserve the original copy of this order which is dated December 15, 1723. For many years the custom continued to be observed, even after the first editor had been succeeded by others. Countess Fugger, known as the "Mother of German Missionaries in East Asia," sent all letters addressed to her to the *Welt-Bott*. Then too, Father Stöcklein himself was in

personal communication with many of the missionaries and encouraged them to persevere in their correspondence.

Another item of interest in this general consideration of missionary reports is the proportion of letters which were actually written by Germans. Out of 523 contained in the first four volumes, 232—or more than half—were originally penned in their language, exclusive of the editor's own chapters. And though it was chiefly the Jesuit missions which were heard from, those of other orders were not excluded. Father Stöcklein willingly reprinted material sent by Capuchins, Franciscans, Dominicans, and even by laymen who accompanied the missionaries, as may be seen from numbers 93 and 80.

Anyone interested in his editorial and bibliographical procedure will desire to know how Father Stöcklein handled his material and what methods contributed to the great success of his difficult task. In the first place, he had a high ideal of his vocation as a bibliographer and he aimed "not merely to fill his pages but considered it a matter of conscience to report only reliable and proved facts." As he expressly states: "I shall reject any reports lacking date, place, signature, etc. . . ."[28] Great credit is due to his geographical accuracy. He avoids, for example, the term "Indies" which was at that time generally used to denote any overseas missions, whether in Asia or in America. The first four volumes contain thirty maps which were specially drawn by resident missionaries, a fact which greatly enhanced their value, since the general maps included a mass of unimportant places, while other place names mentioned in the reports would be omitted. Facts concerning races and languages were always stressed, but tiresome repetitions, generally know facts, and personal allusions were excused. Photography was of course unknown, and whatever illustrations were included were drawings of buildings. Father Stöcklein fully realized the imperfection of these pictures, but he feared to increase the cost of publication. One extremely annoying feature of many old books is the absence of a good index, but in this respect the *Welt-Bott* is admirably modern. Each volume is followed by an excellent, well-classified, and alphabetical index which enables the reader to locate not only persons and places, but also any subject desired.

In regard to style the *Welt-Bott* reads fluently and pleasantly, though its grammatical construction and vocabulary are necessarily antiquated. But it is not improbable that Germans of the eighteenth

[28] *Katholischen Missionen*, XXXIII, 32.

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century found it equally difficult to read because of the regrettable lack of unity in German speech and spelling. Despite his critical attitude regarding facts, Father Stöcklein never failed to edify his readers. Many of the letters reveal the spirit of a piety, but it never obtrudes itself upon the reader. It was customary for a writer to dedicate his work to some person of distinction. When urged to do likewise, the editor refused, "fearing to dedicate honors due to God's heroes alone to some unworthy stranger." Instead, he offers the *Welt-Bott* "to the missionaries of the Society of Jesus, both to those triumphant in Heaven as to those fighting in the four parts of the earth against the forces of hell . . . also to all those whose names are mentioned in the treatise."

Always, one finds mentioned the names of those who died for the faith. A child of his age, the author frequently tells of miracles and other strange occurrences, yet his judgment is always sane and cautious. As a matter of principle, he avoided controversy because it was a hindrance to edification. There is always a kind and peaceful attitude toward other orders and their work, as may be seen in the prefaces to Parts III and XI. Though he was personally interested and well able to discuss the current dispute regarding Rites, he avoided the subject, however filled the letters from China might be with the controversy. We read in the preface to Part I that he considers himself too much a man of peace, that he prefers to leave literary warfare to such as may enjoy it, yet he could not refrain from stating his pro-Jesuit stand: "I say this much that those who defame the Jesuits and their missions in China speak as do blind men of color . . . I can regard them only with pity for their ignorance." In like manner, he steers clear of politics. But his German patriotism is everywhere manifest, and he expresses decided pleasure over the distinction and preference enjoyed by German missionaries abroad.

The trials of an editor were evidently no less marked in the eighteenth century than they are at the present time. Father Stöcklein soon found his task an overwhelming one. The constant round of translation, re-editing and comparing must have been a severe strain on his failing eyesight. Many of the letters were especially trying because they were too lengthy and because they contained foolish disgressions and unnecessary repetitions. Many too, were badly written, and the printers of Augsburg were far removed from his little editorial room in Graz. Long delays were inevitable, due to the slowness of censors. But there were numerous joys which amply compensated for these trials. When the weary editor was

EX LIBRIS PROVINCIAE
PRO STUDIO THEOL.
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discouraged and tempted to give up, he was cheered by the letters which reached him. Some of them reported remarkable conversions and vocations to the missionary life. Then too, the neutral attitude of the *Welt-Bott* contributed not a little to harmony among religious orders; Catholics and Protestants alike gained a new insight into the purpose of the Jesuit activity and frequently laid aside their prejudices. Last but not least, it was a constant call to young men of middle-Europe to adopt a missionary career and it was a stimulant to inland Germans to satisfy their curiosity about the seas and the inviting lands beyond.

Upon the death of Father Stöcklein which occurred on Dec. 28, 1733, Father Karl Mayer completed the manuscript of volume three. Six years later, he too passed to his reward, and the *Welt-Bott* seemed to have ceased with his demise. Urgent requests for its continuance, however, became more frequent and eventually Father Peter Probst, the prefect of studies in Vienna, assumed the responsibility of reviving the enterprise. He finally published the fourth volume, but only after long delays consequent upon the wars of Austrian Succession. Paper was difficult to obtain, and at one time, when enemy troops entered Vienna, editor and publisher were forced to leave the city altogether.

In casting one final glance upon the subsequent history of the *Welt-Bott*, we find it under the editorship of Fathers Francis Keller and Francis X. Socher. All the successors of Father Stöcklein generally pursued his methods, and the material increased because missionaries became steadily more numerous. Still, one misses in volumes five and six the careful touch of the founder, his prefaces of explanation, and his own scholarly research articles. Maps received less attention, and illustrations were almost totally omitted. The dissolution of the Society of Jesus was, of course, the deathblow to the *Welt-Bott*.

But the idea and the spirit it engendered persisted and finally took concrete form once more. In 1873, just one hundred years after the papal dissolution of the Society of Jesus, *Die Katholischen Missionen* appeared, edited by Jesuits of the German province and published at Freiburg and St. Louis, Missouri. Though the scope of the new publication is broader and necessarily changed to suit more modern times, its aims and ideals have been a continuation, with some interruptions, of those of the *Welt-Bott*. And during this century the progeny of mission periodicals has grown enormously.

The observations to this point can best be illustrated with examples of letters from Paraguay. In them the story of the develop-

ment of the missionary spirit in middle Europe can be traced, and the literary and other contributions of middle European Jesuits to the golden age of the Paraguay missions can be seen.

The first letter pertaining to the eighteenth century, dated January 18, 1702, is that of a German Jesuit brother, Heinrich Peschke (Pesqui, Peski), to his parents.[29] Peschke was then in the fifth of his twenty-two years of service as an apothecary in Córdoba, where he died in 1729. The impressions received by his parents may have been disconcerting, for his account touches more than a dozen topics and portrays him as now enthusiastic, now pessimistic as to the merits of Paraguay. Perhaps he purposely chose to relate the most extraordinary and seemingly incredible incidents, knowing that the commonplace was not expected. At any rate, Brother Peschke was an interesting letter writer.

A lengthy description of his voyage over Genoa and Cádiz to Buenos Aires and Córdoba opens the account. He found the college at Córdoba not inferior to St. Clement's in Prague as to breadth and imposing architecture, though it is but two stories high for fear of earthquakes, one of which had recently caused all the bells to ring. Naturally, the infirmarian comments in some detail upon his own activity. The Indians and the common Spaniards cared little for the services of an apothecary, but the inmates of the college were much in need of him. The climate is described as so unhealthful that scarcely one who arrives is spared an attack of fever. Córdobans would not like the following:

> The weather changes so frequently in these parts that in a single day—within twenty-four hours—we have summer, winter, spring, autumn, frost, heat, cold, and flashes of lightning. Within a quarter of an hour it may strike five to seven times, killing a great number of persons. Every kind of European weather is but a shadow of this.

Positively miraculous seems to have been the healing power of Paraguay's herbs which Brother Peschke was obliged to seek some sixty miles distant. In appearance they differed much from European varieties of the same species, but we are treated to several examples of their marvelous power to cure.

> I shall give you but a few examples. A certain herb called del Palo is so efficacious that were I to pierce the head of a young chicken with a knife and throw the poor creature down, apparently dead, but would thereupon bandage the same with this herb, it would rise by its own strength and run about as though nothing had happened. . . .

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[29] Huonder, 147, for Peschke; *Welt-Bott*, III, 23–24, No. 506, 98–102, for the letter and citations below.

Not far from Córdoba, he next relates, there were high cliffs containing a variety of precious stones capable of being cut or split like wood and which were very valuable for purposes of building and ornamentation. Fruits were plentiful and of the most luscious kinds. Apples, pears, figs, lemons, pomegranates, quinces, melons, pumpkins, cucumbers and cherries abounded but for some reason plums did not thrive well.

The clothes of the missionaries were black and of a very coarse fiber. Since the Indians were too indolent to weave, the fathers were obliged to import this cloth from Quito. Socks were unknown but the missionaries wore low boots of black leather such as were worn by the common folk of Hungary or Poland. Shirts were of linen, if the Spanish galleons arrived; since they usually did not, it was necessary to wear cotton. During the rainy season, Córdoba was completely submerged. Mud huts disintegrated and were swept away, but the college was protected by a stone dike. "The river is lost in a subterranean pond some three miles beyond Córdoba, but it usually reappears somewhere best known to God."[30]

Most extraordinary, in fact unparalleled anywhere else in the world, were the cattle herds of Paraguay. Deer, oxen, and horses wandered about in immense groups covering two or three miles, with no shepherd or owner to claim them. Though every Spanish galleon returned with forty to fifty thousand hides, there seemed no diminution of their numbers. Ostriches too were very numerous, and Brother Peschke supplies some amazing details as to their habits. The season of Lent was a veritable period of famine. Fish was not to be had, except dried or salted; cabbage and spinach were not planted; and many found it impossible to obtain bread. When these people were forbidden the use of meat, they could accept only one of two alternatives: starvation or excommunication! This amazing statement agrees with no known interpretation of moral or canon law.

In conclusion we are told of new martyrs in the land of the Chiquitos, 600 miles distant from Córdoba. The writer lightly informs his parents that it often "takes but an arrow to set the martyr's crown upon a missionary's head." But his own request for the missions was not granted, his superiors deeming his services more useful at the college which supplied future missionaries.

One of the earliest letters is that of Father Jacob de Haze (Haeze) (1657–1725) dated March 30, 1718, from Buenos Aires.

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[30] *Ibid.*, 101.

Addressed to Father Arendts, the provincial of the Flemish-Belgian province, its opening paragraph characteristically portrays the spirit which is reflected in practically all the letters for decades to come.

> In the thirty years that I have been privileged by the grace of God to work in these missions, there is nothing which has so grieved my heart as to have been separated from those whose memory is dear to me. But God who has separated our lives has kept us united by a bond of love which desires nothing else but the spread of His glory. After having labored 22 [1688–1710] years among the Indians, I was recalled to serve as head of the college here, quite against my own will and desire. When a missionary has worked so long among the Indians, the thought of them is never effaced from his memory, especially when God has seen fit to bless his labors with success. The sheep of my flock were persevering in their prayers, in their love of God, and in their gratitude toward those who rescued them from the jungle and showed them the way to Heaven. I shall not try to tell Your Reverence what grief was felt by them and by myself on parting. But I cannot refrain from telling you that on the day I felt Loreto, 5000 weeping Indians accompanied me . . . for a mile as far as the river . . .[31]

Of further interest in this letter is the announcement that in the previous year (1717) seventy new missionaries were sent to labor in Paraguay. Eleven of these were experienced men from the Upper German province. Father de Haze, who had been born in Antwerp, says that he is surprised to have seen none from the Flemish province, knowing how many of the fathers there were longing for the missions. Presuming, however, that his provincial has not found it possible to spare them, he reminds him that God will not be outdone in generosity, that He will supply others, perhaps even more capable workers, for the province at home.

The martyrdom of two Jesuits is next related. Father de Haze was himself in the party which traveled from Buenos Aires to Córdoba. In Tucumán the natives fell upon them. Father Blasio Sylva and Father Joseph Maco (Masso) were cruelly done to death. The former, who had been provincial in Paraguay for nine years, had his teeth crushed, his eyes plucked out, and was finally clubbed to death. Like mad dogs, the Indians next fell upon Father de Haze himself, but the christian Indians opened fire and the band dispersed. Other items of interest report the efforts to secure a new route to the land of the Chiquitos. This expedition likewise gave the martyr's crown to Father de Arce, Father de Blende, and to twenty-three Christian followers. The letter adds a lengthy account of the noble lives and the heroic death of these fathers.

Some wrote from Paraguay while on their way to other missions

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[31] *Ibid.*, I, 7, No. 166, 49.

in Peru and Chile. To cite but one instance, there are six letters, written between 1719 and 1747 by Father Dominic Mayer, a German from Swabia who labored twenty-five years in Peru. He has left a graphic description of the land route from Buenos Aires to Peru as it was known to many missionaries of his day. He made a noteworthy plea for more helpers, stewards, builders, stone-cutters, carpenters, barbers, and described what manner of men they should be.

I beg you to encourage such vocations as you once did my own. But there are two things which these young people should consider with the greatest care: first, that they complete their studies with diligence, for only such are welcomed and esteemed by the Spaniards. Secondly, that they abhor a mere outward show of virtue . . . for in these parts they are exposed to a thousand dangers of losing God, whom by their very consecration they hoped to find here. Without solid virtue and an uncommon degree of patience none, in fact, can survive the trying journey to the Indies . . . the inhuman conduct of the barbarians, the terrible loneliness . . . In all these trials I . . . have nothing else in this my solitude but the God of my heart whose intimacy and whose constant presence flood my soul with happiness.[32]

A brother, Joseph Klausner (1685-1741), writes a sincere appreciation to his former master in Munich, a tin worker by trade. Klausner seems to have been a "jack-of-all-trades," having served the missions admirably for twenty-three years as a lantern-maker, barber, book-binder, etc.[33] We learn from his narrative, dated March 19, 1719, that an English slave ship had landed the previous year with 600 negroes who spread a deadly disease for 300 miles around. The Jesuit college and its adjoining farms lost 300 slaves on this one occasion. "The pestilence would have been immeasurably worse in this town but for the German fathers who checked its progress by means of their medicines. It was particularly Father Aperger (Asberger), a Tyrolese from Innsbruck, who served as their physician with great success and well-deserved praise."[34] The bishop and the entire city voted him thanks for his devotion.[35] The letter continues to enlarge on the writer's work in the tin industry. He discusses his methods, comments on the wealth of the country's metals, and on the beauty of his finished products which the Indians were said to prefer to utensils of silver.

Father Anton Betschon, previously mentioned in connection with Father Sepp, seems to have been one of the most popular missionaries of the two decades between 1717 and 1738. Born in Aar-

[32] *Welt-Bott*, I, 7, No. 170, 68.
[33] Huonder, 144.
[34] *Welt-Bott*, I, 7, No. 168, 60.
[35] *Ibid.*, I, 7, No. 169, 62.

gau in 1687, he taught rhetoric in Lucerne before coming to Paraguay. His letter from the reduction of the "Three Japanese Martyrs," written in 1719, is one of the most valuable for the present purpose, since it discusses individual German Jesuit missionaries, many of whom were visited upon the arrival of Father Betschon and his six German companions.

A short but noteworthy letter was written on April 15, 1720, by Brother Johann Bitterich. Though he is listed among the mission workers of Chile, he is reported to have died in Paraguay.[36] History mentions him for his splendid work as a sculptor and builder. His letter to a provincial makes an eloquent plea for experienced workers in these arts. He concludes with the sad report that the entire forty European missionaries destined for the provinces of Santa Fé and Quito perished at sea. Five of these were members of the Upper German province and he proceeds to name Fathers Winter, Lippert, Bertel, Weingartner and Johannes Riedmiller, a novice.[37]

No date is given for the letter of Brother Michael Herre to Father Molindes of the Austrian province, but the editor of the *Welt-Bott* presumes that it was probably written in 1725. Eighteen pages are needed to record one of the most complete travel diaries covering the trip from Vienna to Santiago, Chile. Then too, there are several items describing conditions in Buenos Aires, supplying information not found elsewhere.[38]

Brother Herre claims that all newly arrived travelers from Spain, provided their skin is white, were regarded as nobles. Clothes, food, and domicile were no standards for classification; speech alone distinguished them. Many of these people were proud and haughty; they disdained arts and crafts, and anyone who showed an interest in such, or who desired to work, was scorned as a slave. Whoever was ignorant of these things, and who could afford to be idle, was a cavalier.

Buenos Aires had no great Indian population so that the natives were not exploited or overworked. But the missionaries in Paraguay sent masons and other workers to the city from time to time, and these were in turn relieved by others at regular intervals. Their work at that particular period consisted in building the king's fortress and they received a daily wage in coin or in clothing.

Nowhere are the struggles between nature and grace more tell-

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[36] Huonder, 130.
[37] *Welt-Bott*, I, 8, No. 206, 31.
[38] *Ibid.*, III, 21, No. 438, 63–81.

ingly revealed than in a letter of Father Francis X. Zephyris. This missionary, a German from the Tyrol, is the author of fourteen letters, all of which are valuable insofar as they contain travel reports and scientific information. Though he did not labor in Paraguay, but in Peru, may we not presume that the sentiments of contemporary Jesuits in similar circumstances were identical with his own?[39]

He says that but for the grace of God, for whose sake he has left all, it would be impossible to endure such loneliness as the missionary feels; and what joy there is in meeting one of his brethren, perhaps once a year, only he can understand whose sole companionship is limited to ignorant and uncouth Indians. He says:

It is this complete isolation which deters some of the fathers in Quito from the mission life. They say: "What doth is profit a man . . . if he lose his own soul?" But experience proves that God Himself often grants more consolation that the most eloquent priest or confessor can give.[40]

Moreover, he adds that this life has precious compensations, since it offers fewer opportunities for committing sin. There is, for instance, no desire to please nor to surpass others, to calumniate or contemn, no jealousy or envy, and there are no temporal hopes to be disappointed. The missionary lives in perpetual quiet and solitude, with none of the poisoned sweets of the world to trouble him. He has but one passion: to love God, to suffer for God, and to die for Him.

When Father Stöcklein had completed Part X of his *Welt-Bott,* he wrote in the preface:

As I am, with the grace of God, about to conclude Part X, this July, 1726, another group of missionaries is leaving Germany for America, particularly for Paraguay. This Austrian province which must care for all the missions of Hungary to the boundaries of Turkey has nevertheless contributed seven chosen priests and one brother, namely,

Father Lucas Bakranin from Croatia
Father Innocent Erber from Laibach
Father Joseph Brigniel from Klagenfurt
Father Matthias Strobel from Steiermark
Father Francis X. Limp from Hungary
Father Paul Kovacs from Hungary
Father Ladislaus Orosz from Hungary
Brother Martin Ritsch, from Tyrol [41]

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[39] Huonder, 129.

[40] The letter here referred to was written at Latacunga near Quito, March 9, 1725. *Welt-Bott,* III, 17, No. 399, 99.

[41] *Welt-Bott,* II, Preface to Part X. Father Bakranin died before setting sail from Spain. Brother Ritsch served in the College of Buenos Aires as tailor and sacristan, "a highly esteemed, even saintly brother," *ibid.,* and Huonder, 149.

Five of these have left valuable letters which cover the highlights of service in the reductions during the next twenty year period. Orosz is the author of seven letters in the *Welt-Bott*. He belonged to the Austrian province, a Hungarian by birth. On reaching Paraguay, he was ordered to his profound regret to teach philosophy and theology at Córdoba.

> Obedience has burdened me with the task of acquainting ten of our young men with Aristotle. Now since the third year of this course is concluded, I see a ray of hope which may ultimately lead to the long desired path of the missions . . .[42]

He later served in other capacities, such as rector of the college in Córdoba, director of the seminary of Montserrat, and as master of novices for nine years. But he is repeatedly referred to as "teutscher Missionarius," a title which he loved better than any other.[43] He was deported in 1767 and died in 1773, a few days after the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

The scholarly bent of this writer is manifested when he reports that in 1730 two of the Spanish fathers discovered a new tribe called the Guaranas (the modern Caingang) along the Paraná.[44] Notwithstanding the original fear and terror of these natives on seeing the missionaries, 153 of them were soon brought into the reduction of Corpus Christi. The author alludes to several other discoveries of a similar nature and closes with the naïve request for "some bait for our fish hooks"—pictures and medals with which to catch the Indians.

In 1738 Father Orosz wrote an enthusiastic letter announcing the Father General's permission to establish a new settlement in Patagonia. At last, so he hopes, he will be given an opportunity to labor directly for the poor, benighted Indians. He has weighed the difficulties of travel and speech—but the hope of saving souls will make possible seemingly impossible things.

Father Erber informs us of the warmth of the welcome accorded

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[42] *Welt-Bott*, IV, 25, No. 530, 115.

[43] Huonder, 147.

[44] The Guaranos are not to be confused with the Iaguaranos, Ugaranos, and Payaguas. The Jesuits of the middle eighteenth century divided their missions of Paraguay more according to areas, and Huonder, 139, follows this form. His divisions are: 1) The Chiquitos in Bolivia, 10 reductions in 1767. 2) The Guarani, along the Paraná and Uruguay Rivers and in present Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, 30 reductions. 3) The Chaco mission on the right bank of the Paraná in present Corrientes and Santa Fe Provinces of Argentina, 15 reductions. 4) The Pampas in north Patagonia, one mission. See also the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, sub "Reductions," "Paraguay," "Guaraní," "Peru," "Chiquitos," for maps and bibliographies, and see note 18.

the German fathers upon their arrival in Spain, and this fact is repeatedly mentioned in various letters. Erber wrote from Seville:

I must not fail to mention that the Spanish Jesuits show greater love and esteem for us German missionaries than for our companions from other lands. Moreover, the officials of the Spanish West India Company always prefer German priests for their missions. I affirm this in order that those of our Austrian province who feel called to the apostolic life may not be deterred by erroneous reports to the contrary. It would certainly be a grave matter of conscience to discourage a vocation upon which the salvation of thousands of souls may depend by foolish and unfounded misrepresentations.[45]

Father Joseph Brigniel (1699–1770): "grand old man" of the Paraguay missions. It is much to be regretted that we have no letters to portray the personality of this outstanding veteran. His literary contributions were a dictionary of the Abipon language, a grammar, a catechism, and a book of sermons in that language. Forty glorious years of service in Paraguay sum up the record of his career. Of these, ten years were spent among the Guaraní, Abipones, and Mocobi. In 1738 he was appointed superior of the reduction St. Xavier on the Uruguay; later he served as rector of the college at Corrientes, and in 1753 as superior of the Abipon missions.[46] He is described as a highly gifted musician, a thorough mathematician and a master of the German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Guaraní languages. All these brilliant talents were well utilized for the missions. To crown his busy and heroic life, Father Brigniel survived to share the bitter sorrow of the expulsion, and he died an exile from the souls he had so loved in life.

One of the German fathers most frequently mentioned by various writers, and one who has himself bequeathed to us several letters, was Father Matthias Strobel, better known in Paraguay as Estrobel. He appears to have been a very practical-minded man, if we may conjecture from his letters of 1726 and 1729. He indicates some of the financial transactions which took place in Spain before the departure of a mission band. We read that:

His Catholic Majesty supplies daily for each of us a Real de Plata . . . For each of us bound for Paraguay our procurator is required to pay the ship owners 350 pesos, excluding provisions . . . He in turn pays the king as many times five Reals de Plata as reservations have been made on his galleon —from which may be seen what profits flow into the royal treasury in consequence of the shipping trade.[47]

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[45] *Welt-Bott*, II, 14, No. 334, 93.

[46] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus*, Vienna, 1784, II, 231; III, 156.

[47] *Welt-Bott*, III, 23–24, No. 509, 125.

Commercial interests in Spanish America also concerned Father Strobel. He describes the prosperous smuggling activities of the English and Portuguese and notes that within a very short time $300,000 worth of contraband was seized.[48]

With the Indians of Paraguay Father Strobel seems to have been most favorably impressed. He comments on their extraordinary docility and devotion toward the missionary whom they called "Cherubai"—my father. The missionary in turn called the Indian "Cherai"—my son. The splendid singing and dancing too were noted, and we are told that the Indians exhibited a better understanding of rhythm than most Europeans, and that their pronunciation of the German was exceptionally good. To provide for the entertainment of the natives he appeals for glass beads, mirrors, and magnifying glasses with which they were able to amuse themselves for hours. But to what profit is not stated. Apparently national pride was hard to down, for in conclusion Strobel speaks with admiration of the fine order and system prevailing in the reductions presided over by the German fathers. "For this reason many of the fathers are anxious to labor among the Indians. However, their petitions in this regard are not always granted, since the Spaniards are unable, often unwilling too, to dispense with us in their colleges."[49]

Youthful enthusiasm speaks from the pages of a letter written by Father Francis X. Limp on January 1, 1731. It was the first message of a personal nature to his provincial in Austria, since his previous, more general reports had been written for Father Stöcklein's *Welt-Bott*. It alludes to a kind Providence which seemed to be watching in a special manner over the fortunes of the little band of 1726. Scarcely had they reached Buenos Aires, and embarked for their respective missions 200 miles north, when a devastating plague broke out among the Indians.

> A very poisonous kind of small pox claimed about 200 victims . . . We were 50 miles away from the Promised Land . . . but were obliged to halt for two months in order to care for the afflicted Indians in their huts . . . We Germans who were yet unacquainted with the language served as physicians, cooks, and infirmarians, while our confreres of wider experience supplied their spiritual needs. The fact that not one of the fourteen missionaries was stricken while living in constant touch with the sick—and that beneath a scorching sun—is doubtless a mark of Providence which desires to preserve us for the salvation of these natives.[50]

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[48] *Ibid.*, III, 23–24, No. 510, 128.
[49] *Ibid.*, 129.
[50] *Welt-Bott*, IV, 32, No. 637, 114.

So genuine and heartfelt was Father Limp's happiness in his mission of the Immaculate Conception that he should be allowed to speak for himself:

I cannot express to Your Reverence the joy which I feel in this apostolic work. It is in all truth greater than I could ever have imagined. Were I still in Europe, but in possession of the knowledge of such happiness, I should not hesitate to undertake on foot the long journey to this country where one learns to die to the world and to live for God.[51]

Other important contributors besides those in the party of 1726 may be mentioned. Father Francis Magg whose career in the missions was limited to eight years, was, as has been stated, the young assistant to Father Sepp at Santa Cruz. He died at the early age of forty-one. One passage in his letter reads like an honor roll of his confreres in Paraguay, with kind words for all:

Father Anton Betschon is in charge of the reduction dedicated to the Three Holy Martyrs of Japan. He is the center of affection of the Indians who never speak of him except as their angel . . . Father Bernhard Nussdorfer who has labored several years in the populous reduction of St. Nicholas is now transferred to St. Aloysius. What a pity that his musical talents will not be utilized in this place.[52]

Father Michael Hafner, who in union with a Spanish father had the happiness to set up a large congregation of natives from widely scattered woods, is now pastor of St. Thomas. Father Sigismund Aperger, whose name is famous in these parts, has won renown and esteem because of his skill in the art of healing. A Spanish father was heard to say: "Were it not for this German, half our province of Paraguay would have perished . . . None have died in our colleges except those who were unacquainted with his experience or who failed to trust him . . . This healer of bodies is no less a healer of souls." . . . Another true apostle is Father Gregory Haffée, he who in consequence of the malicious black magic of an Indian was reduced to so pitiable a state that he was temporarily bereft of reason, and unfit for further apostolic duties. By this time he has been restored to health by means of supernatural aid. Such misery as his was beyond human power to cure.[53]

In concluding the survey of the writers whose letters got into the pages of the *Welt-Bott* we can mention Father Adolph Skal.[54] Writing under date of August 25, 1734, he furnishes detailed information for the people at home on a number of missionaries whose

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[51] *Ibid.*

[52] Nussdorfer was one of the most prominent German Jesuits in Paraguay. He was born in Bavaria in 1686, came to Paraguay in 1717, and after working in several reductions was appointed superior of Santa Cruz, then rector of the college in Santa Fé. He was twice superior of the Paraná missions and finally provincial of Paraguay in 1747. His letter in the *Welt-Bott* is number 804; Huonder, 146; Sommervogel, V, 1850–1851.

[53] *Welt-Bott*, IV, 29, No. 558, 45.

[54] Huonder, 150; Sommervogel, VII, 1264.

names have become familiar in the course of these pages and others whose names are not so well known. This was composed in the second of his thirty-four years of service. Ignatius Cirrheim, in Paraguay for thirty-seven years, contributed four letters to the *Welt-Bott* before he was exiled in 1767.[55] Finally there is Father Charles Rechberg, who is less important for the very short letter he wrote than he is for his long years as a rector and procurator of the missions.[56]

While these writers had their effect upon readers of the *Welt-Bott* there were many of their writings which did not get into its pages. Some of the letters along with those of fathers not as yet mentioned still remain in manuscript; others have been published at times, or used as documentary sources. Still more, the German missionaries wrote books and papers, too long or too late for printing in the *Welt-Bott*. To these types of writing we may now turn.

IV. Florian Paucke and Others

One of the fruits of the publication of the missionaries' letters was the inspiration of Father Florian Paucke to be off to the far lands of the pagans.[57] Born in Silesia at Witzingen on September 24, 1719, Paucke entered the Society of Jesus in October, 1736. He arrived in Buenos Aires January 1, 1749, along with Father Dobrizhoffer and others under the leadership of the procurator of the missions, Ladislaus Orosz. He had been ordained a priest one year and had followed the usual route to Italy and Spain before embarking for the New World.

He was the typical German missionary of his time, eminently practical, a clever craftsman, a gifted musician, and moreover possessed of an unusual degree of tact in handling natives. He had, likewise, a good sense of humor. Unlike Father Sepp and many of his predecessors, Paucke was not destined to leave his remains in his newly adopted land. He closed his life in Neuhaus, Bohemia, in 1780.

As a writer he is remembered for his travel description and for

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55 Huonder, 141; Sommervogel, II, 1189.

56 Huonder, 148; *Welt-Bott*, II, 9, No. 232, 28.

57 Frast spells the name Pauke, and Kobler and Bringmann use Baucke, as does Huonder, 140; Sommervogel, VI, 371, has Pauke; Wernicke settles the spelling by publishing a facsimile of Paucke's signature, which he found in the Archivo General de la Nación, in *Florián Paucke, S.J., Hacia Allá y Para Acá (Una Estada Entre Los Indios Mocobies, 1749–1767)*, Traducción Castellana por Edmundo Wernicke, Tucumán-Buenos Aires, 1943, I, xxiii.

his history of the missions of St. Xavier and St. Peter, compiled after his expulsion in 1768 and release from prison in 1769, and written partly from memory and partly from notes rescued from confiscation. He writes as an exile from a beloved scene. When he had completed the manuscript of 1046 pages he entitled it "Ein deutscher missionar in Paraguay, 1749–1768," and presented it to Father Placidus Assem, Prior of the Cistertian monastery in Zwettl. In such hard times for the Jesuits of course no publisher would accept the manuscript, and it lay with the Cistertians until Father Johann Frast of that Order succeeded in publishing an edition in 1829 after the Jesuits had been restored to esteem in Austria.[58] This edition Paucke himself had revised while living with the Cistertians, and moreover had illustrated in colors and drawings, but when printed it was not complete.

The next edition was practically a centennial edition. Father A. Kobler brought it out in 1870 with four illustrations.[59] It is difficult to tell what process was used in coloring the pictures that are reproduced, but with Pustet as the printer the format is excellent. Unfortunately, among the omissions is the map.

The next edition was a translation into Spanish, shortened considerably, and published in Buenos Aires in 1900 as *Memorias del P. Floran Paucke, Misionero de la Compañía de Jesús (1748–1767)*, por A. V., Miembro de la Sociedad: Propagación de Buenos Libros.

In 1908 Father Augustine Bringmann brought out his edition at Freiburg with the twenty-five drawings and the map, but with this defect that much of the ethnological and "flora and fauna" materials were omitted and the original German was turned into the modern.[60]

With the deficiencies of the preceding editions in mind and with the intention of bringing out a definitive edition the Institute of Anthropology of the National University of Tucumán, in collaboration with the Institución Cultural Argentino-Germana, began publishing

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[58] *P. Florian Pauke's Reise in die Missionen nach Paraguay und Geschichte der Missionen St. Xavier und St. Peter.* Ein Beytrag zur Geschichte der Jesuiten in Paraguay. Aus der Handschrift Pauke's herausgegeben von P. Johann Frast. Cistercienser des Stiftes Zwettl und Pfarrer zu Edelbach. Wien 1829. Bey Anton Edlem von Schmid. k. k. privil., und n. ö. Landschafts-Buchdrucker und Buchhändler.

[59] *Pater Florian Baucke, ein Jesuit in Paraguay (1748–1766).* Nach dessen eigenen Aufzeichnungen von A. Kobler, Priester der Gesellschaft Jesu. Mit Abbildungen. Regensburg, New York & Cincinnati. Papier, Druck und Verlag von Friedr. Prustet. 1870. Sommervogel, VI, 371, had Andre for Kobler's first name, while Huonder has Anton, 140.

[60] *P. Florian Baucke (1749–1768).* Bilder aus den alten Indianermission von Paraguay. Nach den Aufzeichnungen Bauckes, neu bearbeitet von Augustin Bringmann, S.J. Mit 25 Bildern und einer Karte. Freiburg im Breisgau. Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1908.

Edmundo Wernicke's translation from the original manuscript. The printing, the format, and the plates of the three volumes are beautifully done.

The spirit, so typical of the displaced Jesuit missionaries of the time, and the content of the work are aptly expressed in the somewhat clumsy sub-title, which defies a more graceful expression in English or in Spanish:

> There and Back. [61] There, sweet and joyful; Here, bitter and gloomy. That is: a faithful account of a missionary traveling from Europe from Europe in 1748 to the Province of Paraguay and returning in 1769. In which he describes the province of Gran Chaco, his labors there during eighteen years among the Mocobi and Guaycuru, both pagan and Christian; his return to Europe; likewise this country's climate, soil, rivers, fruits, forests, animals, birds, fishes, creeping and flying vermin—told with other curious facts, illustrated with several copper prints, and arranged in six parts.

When Paucke was escorted to his first mission by a delegation of Christian Indians, St. Xavier, situated some thirty miles north of Santa Fé in the Argentine, was five years old. But the mission settlement had already experienced the customary adversities of the older missions: Indian raids, a destructive fire, and a devastating flood. The new padre came upon the scene when the work of reconstruction was in progress. Father Francisco Burges Novarro, who had founded the mission in 1743, on bidding welcome to Paucke whispered: "Father, be brave and be contented!" Paucke spent the rest of his years following the advice.

Among the outstanding qualities displayed by Father Paucke at St. Xavier and later at St. Peter were his inventive power to overcome economic difficulties and his ability to devise profitable occupations for the natives. If they were disinclined to agricultural pursuits, he found them admirably adapted for some trade. There were forges, tanneries, mills, carpenter shops, and brick yards at St. Xavier. Indolence among the women of the reduction was another perplexing problem. Very tactfully, he induced them to turn to weaving and wool dyeing, the seven hundred sheep being quite sufficient to provide materials for all. Within three months, the missionary had exchanged seventy-three fine blankets for forty-eight hundredweights of tea and fifteen hundredweights of tobacco and sugar. The subsequent distribution of these products among the

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[61] There are connotations in the simple words Hin und Her of the German, as explained in Wernicke, I, 1, note 1. The meaning is Beyond the seas and a Return, or, Beyond to the sweet and joyful, and a return in sorrow.

workers soon induced idlers to join. In time, a factory was built to house the new project of rug and blanket making, and an experienced Indian woman who had learned various arts while a Spanish captive, was engaged to teach the girls. Encouraged by continued success, Paucke turned to other undertakings. The organ which he constructed with the aid of his Indians was much admired in Santa Fé and might have sold for eight hundred dollars. Happy and contented Christian communities thus began to flourish where once the Indians had roamed about in aimless savagery, and the blessings of organized life redounded not only to the welfare of the natives themselves, but to the Spanish colonial system as well.[62]

Paucke had frequently been encouraged by his provincial to establish other reductions among the Mocobi. But eighteen years elapsed before his own great desire to penetrate more deeply into the Gran Chaco was realized. The Spaniards had long objected to his departure, since St. Xavier served as a bulwark to Santa Fé; then too, the Indians had threatened to secede and follow their leader into the wilderness. Eventually a delegation of pious and trustworthy Indians volunteered to prepare the way, provided their beloved padre remain at St. Xavier, out of danger. Armed with a white banner, bearing on one side the image of the Mother of Sorrows and on the other that of St. Francis Xavier, they set out with gifts to invite the neighboring chiefs to call at the Christian reduction. All but one returned, bringing with them three *caciques* who were willing to meet the missionary. Given the choice of joining St. Xavier or of founding their own colony, they chose the latter. After various difficulties with the Spanish authorities, a desirable site was secured and work began. Elebogdin, the converted *cacique*, was delighted. The new settlement, to be called St. Peter, was located on a wooded elevation which was cleared of four thousand trees. A fresh, well-stocked stream played at its feet, while fertile fields lay on every side. For hundreds of miles beyond there extended vast areas of woodland. Paucke thus describes the solemn dedication of the new reduction St. Peter, founded by himself in 1763:

> The mounted Spaniards and Indians assembled on the square to both sides of the church. The commandant stood at the church, I at his right

[62] There is little need to mention the well known narratives describing life in the reductions, namely, W. H. Koebel, *In Jesuit Land*, London, n. d., R. B. C. Graham, *A Vanished Arcadia*, London, 1924, and George O'Neill, *Golden Years on the Paraguay*, London, 1934, but there are some relatively unknown accounts of the mission organization in *Die Katholischen Missionen*, particularly in the 1894 volume, 150–152; 198–203; 254–259; 271–277; and in the 1897 volume, 155–159; 203–207; 261–267.

and Elebogdin at his left. Taking the hand of each, he stepped forward and said: "I, Francisco Antonio de Vera y de Muxica, lawfully delegated by the crown, do surrender to you, Florian Paucke and to Elebogdin here present, in the name of His Majesty, this territory for your own, in the Name of the Most Holy Trinity." . . . We thus owned an area of two miles to the south and four miles to the north; and to the east and west as much as we might need, in such manner that no stranger might settle within these boundaries contrary to our wishes.[63]

The new mission prospered immensely. Fields and orchards were cultivated, and fruit trees of every variety were donated by the nurseries of St. Xavier. Already in the first year, twenty-five hundredweights of cotton were produced at St. Peter; and Paucke had "begged" seven hundred head of cattle, fifty-two horses, and more than two hundred sheep from the Spaniards for the new reduction. The founder remained at St. Peter for two years, assisted by Father Antonio de Bustillos, while St. Xavier was cared for by Father Wittermayer until his return. In 1765, Paucke was visited by still another *cacique* who desired a Christian village for his people; but these last hopes were never realized. Storm clouds were gathering fast, and the golden age of Paraguay was soon to be but a memory.

We are fortunate in possessing Paucke's own report of his voyage "back in sadness" from the time he bade farewell to his Indians at St. Xavier and St. Peter to his arrival in Germany.[64] It is candid and not untouched by humor. In a band of 170 Jesuits he sailed from Buenos Aires on April 1, 1768, after his imprisonment. Despite a bad storm, vermin infested quarters, and the illness of all, only two of the fathers died at sea. Four months later they "staggered to the house of the missionaries" in Cádiz. There they learned of the deaths of sixteen out of thirty-two Jesuits who had been on the vessel arriving just before their own. Kindness was shown them by the people and especially by the Irishman, Marqués Ferry, until their departure March 19, 1769. Arriving at Ostend Paucke proceeded to Bruges, thence to Eger, where his narrative concludes.

What was done for the Guaraní by Fathers Sepp and Brigniel and what Paucke and Dobrizhoffer and companions accomplished for the Abipon was no less successfully achieved in behalf of the Chiquitos by Fathers Martin Schmidt and Julian Knogler. Martin Schmidt was the most famed of eleven Jesuits of the same family name who departed from Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the American missions.[65] Born in Switzerland

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[63] *P. Florian Baucke*, Bringmann ed., 115.
[64] Knobler edition, 667–710; Bringmann, 118–140.
[65] Huonder, 149; V. Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos*, 114, 198.

in September, 1694, he entered the Jesuit Order in 1717, was ordained ten years later, and then spent forty-one years among the Chiquitos. His deeds might indeed be forgotten had not his family carefully preserved his voluminous letters. These the editors of the *Katholischen Missionen* were allowed to use in preparing an interesting biography of Schmidt.[66]

Father Peramás, one of the best authorities on the missions of Paraguay, asserts that the Chiquito reductions owe their flourishing condition almost exclusively to his efforts—in fact, he is said to have "renewed the face of the Indian reductions."[67] Only a few of his accomplishments can here be enumerated. Through him the Chiquitos learned the arts of weaving, painting, and carving; he built their first organs and their first bells, and he was the official clockmaker. The missionaries generally carried no watches, but Father Schmidt built clocks to strike simultaneously in all the missions, while sun dials insured their accuracy. Surpassing all this, however, was his work as an architect. He it was who substituted the first splendid churches for crude and temporary places of worship. Beginning at S. Raphael, he proceeded to S. Xavier, Immaculate Conception and thence down the chain of missions, San Juan, San Miguel, and San Ignacio, about whose construction and beauties he wrote to his relatives in Europe.[68]

Father Schmidt after overseeing the construction of the mission edifice, came to the time when he would write to his brother of the destruction of his work and that of the other missionaries. In one letter of 1767 he grieves for the desolate Indians and their future. But, he thought he would be allowed to remain with them, for, he wrote, "the old and sickly fathers who are unable to travel will be

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[66] "P. Martin Schmid, S.J. Ein Indianer-Missionär des vorigen Jahrhunderts," Anon., *Die Katholischen Missionen*, St. Louis, 1876, 88–95, 112–118, 136–42; besides the letters indicated or given in this article, Schmidt was the author of a long "Briefe" mentioned in Huonder, 149.

[67] Huonder, 149. Father José Manuel Peramás, residing at Córdoba when the edict of expulsion was read to the Jesuits, wrote a diary which remained in manuscript for years. It was published in Rome by Giuseppe Boero, S.J., in 1859. Sommervogel, VI, 483; it next appeared in Latin in *Letters and Notices*, Roehampton, England, in volumes 10, 11, and 12, for the years 1875–1879; this periodical was for private circulation among the Jesuits. It then appeared in German in *Die Katholischen Missionen* for 1899–1900. Next it was published in the Spanish as "Historia de la expulsion de los Jesuitas de America," in the *Revista Eclestiástica*, Buenos Aires, 1906.

[68] *Katholischen Missionen*, 1876, 139–140. An early work on the Chiquitos was Moritz Bach, *Die Jesuiten und ihre Mission Chiquitos in Süd-Amerika*, Leipzig, 1843.

allowed to remain in the missions. I am one of the old fathers, since I am seventy-three, so I shall remain."[69]

No such consolation remained for the toil-worn missionary. His itinerary begun in December, 1767, lay over the Andes to Peru on muleback, a five months journey. He embarked May 30, 1768, for Panama, where he arrived late in August. A month later he and his companions went over the Isthmus to Portobelo. After the climate and fevers had claimed eleven of the missionaries, the rest sailed on January 2, 1769, stopping at Cartagena and Havana. They reached Cádiz May 24 and remained there a year before sailing for Italy. The last lap of the journey was from Bologna, to Mantua, to Trieste, to Innsbruck, and finally in December, 1770, to Augsburg. His letter from this shelter to his brother reveals him sorrowful at the loss of his mission, but joyful to be suffering reproaches for his Master.[70] In the Spring of 1771 he moved to Lucerne. He was spared one last affliction. He did not live to see the papal suppression of his Order, for he died March 10, 1772.

Before turning to an account of the influence of Father Dobrizhoffer mention must be made of other contributors to mission literature. Father Thaddeus Xavier Henis, "magnifico tipo de misionero" according to Sierra, was born in Bohemia in 1711 and arrived in Paraguay with the 1749 expedition that brought Paucke.[71] He was just in time to cover the war period in the reductions in his historical journal of "the war of the seven reductions." This he did in Latin in 1754. It got into Spanish in 1836 but remains still unpublished.[72] In this respect it is like the "Brief aus der Reduction St. Johann, 25. März, 1702," written by the Bohemian laybrother Joseph Kraus. Kraus was rather lost as far as Huonder and Sommervogel were concerned, but Sierra finds that he was a notable architect who arrived in the Plata area in 1698, went to Córdoba, then to Yapeyú where he aided Sepp in the foundation of that mission.[73] He drew the plans for the Jesuit Church of San Ignacio in Buenos Aires and for the present Colegio Nacional de Montserrat, once the Colegio Máximo of the Jesuits. He died in 1714. Then there is Father Julian Knogler (Nogler). He was a

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[69] *Ibid.*, 139.

[70] *Ibid.*, 140.

[71] *Los Jesuitas Germanos*, 394; Huonder, 144; Sommervogel, IV, 270, says the Bohemian Province catalogue spells the name Enis.

[72] The Latin title is not given; the Spanish: "Efemerides de la guerra de los Guaranios desde el año 1754, o diario de la guerra del Paraguay," trans. Buenos Aires, 1836.

[73] *Los Jesuitas Germanos*, 396; Huonder, 145.

Bavarian, born in 1717, and arriving in Paraguay with Paucke in 1749. Although through some mistake earlier writers seemed to think he had transferred his allegiance to China and then to Chile, it seems quite clear now that he worked twenty years among the Chiquitos and was at Santa Ana when expelled.[74] He died at Oetting in 1775, but left a manuscript history called a "Relación de Chiquitos." Besides these there are the various short accounts of Father Carl Tux of July 6, 1752, and of another Bohemian, Joseph Unger, relating to the disquiet among the Indians in the missions over the arbitrary transfers and removals.[75] Finally, in regard to the transfer of the missions there is the famous Tratado de Permuta y Guerra Guaranitica among the writings of Bernard Nussdorfer.[76]

(To be continued)

SISTER ANGELA BLANKENBURG

The Mallinckrodt,
Wilmette, Ill.

74 Sommervogel, IV, 1134; Huonder, 145; Sierra, 396.
75 Huonder, 150, 151; Sierra, 401.
76 Huonder, 146–147; Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, III, 85.

Book Reviews

Woman as Force in History. By Mary R. Beard. Macmillan, New York, 1946. Pp. viii, 369.

Mary Ritter Beard takes issue with the rather commonly held opinion to the effect that woman has been the subject sex throughout history. In order to discuss the matter intelligenly, Mrs. Beard has perhaps read more widely on this particular matter than has any other investigator. The wealth of primary and secondary material presented in the bibliography is truly impressive. From treatises in such varied fields as the fine arts, business, education, government, law, medicine, philosophy, religion, and science, to mention only a few, Mrs. Beard has secured the data upon which to base her conclusions.

And what are they? Put very briefly, the author believes that woman has been anything but a subject race throughout the centuries. She believes that woman, because of her innate ability, has been able to keep pace with man in the remote as well as in the immediate past. True, she is more than ready to admit that frequently great obstacles have been put in woman's way by man. However, she is of the opinion that woman has been able to overcome those difficulties, and by so doing has even more conclusively proved her power.

Particularly interesting for most readers will be the several chapters devoted to the education of and the contributions made by women in the medieval period. Women were enabled, for example, to secure the training which enabled them to become members of many medieval gilds. In a reference made to a study of eighty-five English gilds of the fourteenth century, emphasis is placed on the fact that women were members of seventy-two of them; girls as well as boys attended the elementary schools; it is quite likely that the average young woman actually received more formal education than the average young man; at times women controlled their own gilds and at other times they were associated, as was indicated above, in those open to both sexes. Matilda (1046-1115), Countess of Tuscany, sole heir to the richest estate in Italy, took a great interest in the gilds that functioned in Florence. She spoke not only Italian, but also French and German, and has moreover left us many letters written in excellent Latin. She is considered by Mrs. Beard as an outstanding example of the influence exerted by woman, not as an exception.

The author found the women of the medieval period active in castles and in cottages, in gilds and on farms, in taverns and at market fairs. Although it is well known that marriages were usually arranged for young people, there is abundant evidence that the girl concerned was no pawn. Careful bargaining was made, and the mother of the prospective groom was concerned. Woman was no chattel, as is so often maintained.

Less emphasis is placed upon the contributions made in the modern period by woman. Mrs. Beard apparently believed that the story of the more recent past was better known than that of the ancient and medieval period. She has done much to correct the erroneous opinion that woman's

influence was negligible. The author is willing to admit that at times woman's influence, like that of man's may have been destructive and harmful, but she wishes to register an emphatic protest against the belief that the influence was insignificant during much of world history. As a provocative and convincing treatment of the subject, this book is the best in its field.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University, Chicago.

The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1869–1885. By Charles Callan Tansill. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D. C., 1946. Pp. 362.

Six years ago Dr. Tansill published a stout volume on *The Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard, 1885–1897*; now he offers us a study of his congressional career from 1869 to 1885. The first of twelve chapters sketches the background and early life of the scion of a family distinguished at the bar, in diplomacy, and in politics. When Thomas was in his early twenties, and slavery and the threat of secession agitated Congress, his father became United States senator for Delaware. A forceful personality, a Democrat of strong southern sympathy convinced of the invincibility of the South, and articulate to the verge of indiscretion, the elder Bayard influenced and moulded the outlook of his son so that both shared the same sentiments, illusions, and prejudices.

Young Thomas Bayard entered the national political arena when statesmanship had been supplanted by politics, and politics of a very low order. From the first his interest centered on public finance, Grant's administration, reconstruction, and foreign policy, with special emphasis on Grant's use of his power of appointing to office, and the Republican policy in regard to the former Confederate states. It was not long till Bayard's ability and oratory attracted attention and brought him important assignments. Although he was quickly hailed by some as presidential timber because of his popularity in the South and the West, he refrained from pushing his candidacy and thus spared himself the heartaches that came to rival candidates, especially in 1876. In this campaign he supported Tilden, and he believed that the Democratic standard-bearer had won the presidency. Nevertheless, as he was convinced that renewal of civil strife would ensue unless the contested election was decided by an Electoral Commission, he became an ardent advocate of this method of ending the *impasse*. Moreover, in the interval between the election and the decision he became so annoyed and disgusted by Tilden's hesitation and refusal to lead the party that he concluded that Tilden's weakness stamped him as unfit for the high office at stake. Bayard voted for the creation of the Commission, and served on it too, thus arousing the hostility of Tilden and others, among them Watterson, when Hayes was chosen. Disappointed though he was by the outcome Bayard drew comfort from the relief that came to the South when Hayes, true to his promises, withdrew the Federal troops.

Again in 1880 Bayard was a presidential possibility, but in the convention the South failed him, and Hancock was nominated, only to go down

in defeat. Always an advocate of honesty in public office Bayard gave warm support to Garfield when he attempted to clean up the customs office in New York. In 1884 Bayard loomed again as a candidate since Tilden was removed by illness, but Cleveland won the nomination and the election, and Bayard became Secretary of State, a stepping stone to his diplomatic career as events proved.

The author's sympathy for Bayard is evident, but only rarely does his admiration betray him into making questionable statements. Again and again he insists that Bayard's road to the presidency was blocked by his steadfast adherence to principle and convictions, and his refusal to compromise them by surrender to political expediency. Likewise he emphasizes the fact that he lacked the wealth of Tilden and the machine support of rivals. All this is very true. But decisive factors in his failure to carry a convention were his currency policy opposed by many in good faith, the fact that he hailed from a state with an insignificant electoral vote, and, above all, his attitude towards secession in 1861. Under the circumstances the party could not be blamed for disregarding him and selecting a man less unacceptable to the public. To say that Bayard had a "just grievance" is scarcely warranted by facts. Rarely, if ever, is a party so indebted to an individual that it is morally bound to nominate him; and those who engage in politics should know that political memories for favors are shortlived, while the opposition has a retentive memory for the weakness in a man's career. Moreover, truth to tell, Bayard was something of a bourbon in his estimate of the voter and common man, just as his father had been; and his declaration that "he was not seeking" the presidency has a hollow ring.

This study measures up to the high standard of scholarship that historians expect from the pen of Dr. Tansill. In preparing this volume he has relied chiefly on the Bayard papers and the Hayes papers. Copious citations from these and other sources substantiate his statements and add to the interest of the narrative. The format of the book redounds to the credit of the Cayuga Press of Ithaca.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College.

The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America. By John Tracy Ellis. The American Catholic Historical Association, Washington, 1946. Pp. xiv, 415.

Father Ellis prefaces his work with the modest remark: "When the time comes for the definitive history of the national Catholic University of the United State to be written the present volume may serve as an introduction." He has in mind the narrow period of time, the five years from 1884 to 1889, around which his story centers. During this time the subject of a Catholic university for the United States, long discussed and debated in hierarchical circles, came to a head. The papal brief of April 10, 1887, authorizing the establishment of a pontifical university, was a final, legal step toward opening the doors of the Catholic University of America in November, 1889.

The reader will find a surprising amount of drama and human interest within the covers of this book. The organization of the materials leads toward a general climx, while the individual pages contains numerous dramatic passages as many of the prelates famed in the Catholic history of this country speak their words. Mention of the dramatic element does not imply that Father Ellis has deserted historical objectivity. Rather, he has given a remarkably frank picture, especially in his presentation of pertinent letters and other sources of his information. These he generally leaves open to the reader's interpretation, and in disputed points the reader is given documents relative to both sides of the question. Thus, much lies between the lines.

From the book certainly the idea of a Catholic university was thoroughly thrashed out, and practically everybody of educational note has his say in the matter. Robert Browne, an Irish Augustinian, about 1819 first broached the idea of a Catholic univerity to be founded in Washington and directed by a bishop under the auspices of the Holy See. Thirty-five years later Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati petitioned Rome for a pontifical university for his see, though he most probably meant a graduate seminary rather than a university with general studies. In the 1860's there was more agitation on the part of some bishops led by Martin J. Spalding, who apparently wished educational faculties established for priests beyond their seminary training similar to those in the American colleges in Rome and Louvain but with an added curriculum of letters and profane sciences. Some ten years later the idea progressed to a point where laymen might likewise be included among the students. In 1884 when the Third Plenary Council convened in Baltimore the topic of the Catholic university was ripe for discussion, even though notions of its precise nature and functions were somewhat hazy in the minds of the prelates.

A Miss Mary G. Caldwell suddenly obtruded a clarifying and heartening note into the thoughts of the meeting. She offered the bishops $300,000 for a national Catholic School of Philosophy and Theology for "only ecclesiastics who have completed their elementary course of Philosophy and Theology," though "other faculties may be affiliated to this institution. . ." The offering led to debates lasting three years. Where would the university be founded? How would it affect the canonical colleges abroad? What faculties could be established? Would all graduate priests attend, would all dioceses be forced to contribute to its support? Who would be the rector? The story of the division of opinion among bishops on these questions is absorbing. So too is the discussion about the possible exclusion from graduate studies of other diocesan and Jesuit colleges. Always in the background of the negotiations on the American side was the thought of papal approbation or disapprobation. To terminate the negotiations in Rome Cardinal Gibbons at length explained away the objections to Pope Leo XIII and received the approval for the establishment of the theological faculty. Bishop Keane of Richmond was assigned the rectorship and set about his task of organizing the faculty and studies. The volume ends with a hint of the more difficult years that lay ahead for the institution.

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MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 29, NUMBER 2 APRIL 1947

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APRIL, 1947

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Meat in the Diet of Westward Explorers and Emigrants

Under modern food and nutritional advertising, one appears to be a non-conformist if he does not endorse whole-heartedly the idea that a man is what he eats. As a minion of the meat industry, I wish that this statement were scientifically true, since I should like to credit the achievements of the western pioneers to their meat consumption. But my early training was too basic to accept such a *credo* with a clear conscience, and historians, with whom I associate, assure me that one cannot maintain his amateur standing unless his conscience is clear. Hence if I tell you that this paper is not a contribution to knowledge but merely after-dinner observations based on the days that have been, I will be anticipating by only a few moments, what will certainly be your final opinion.

Yet a certain amount of speculation about the place of meat in the human diet is warranted. The post-Darwinian idea that man is descended from apes which lived in tropical forests, subsisting largely on tubers, buds, fruits, and nuts, plus such occasional insects, worms, lizards, amphibians, and small mammals as could not elude nimble fingers, has had far wider acceptance than it deserves. Students of human evolution soon realized from the nature of his anatomy that man must have descended from plains-living anthropoids, so this romantic vegetarian theory weakened. The digestive tract of plains-dwelling pre-humans required something more nutritive per gram to maintain life than grass and herbs. One of our old-time market reporters at the Chicago stockyards, "Jim" Poole, used to say that "no human ever ate grass except Nebuchadnezzar, and even he failed to make a *one hundred percent success* of it."

Editor's Note: This paper was read at the dinner meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in New York December 27, 1946.

As one studies the domestication of wild animals he comes more and more to the conclusion that pre-historic man was primarily a meat-eater. Man's teeth have never been adapted to managing grass and herbs, though they were able to handle the *flesh* of animals that could do so. It must also be remembered that the earliest discoverable culture of man was founded on hunting, that the pastoral life preceded the cultivator's life, and that man domesticated sheep, cattle, and horses—animals which were readily followed and herded —long before he domesticated swine, which had to be lured by food he supplied, and which even had to be confined and cared for, before they were suitably tamed. In a recent book, *Not By Bread Alone,* Stefansson points out the almost complete dependence of pre-agricultural man on animal food, and shows that it is as characteristic of tropical zones as of temperate or arctic. He believes that human ancestors lived chiefly on the lean and fat of animals for one, or perhaps several, million years before crop cultivation was undertaken. And Ellsworth Huntington, in his *Mainsprings of Civilization*, suggests that agriculture has been positively detrimental, in the sense that it has lowered the *quality* of food, even though it has increased the *quantity*. Most deficiency diseases from inadequate nutrition did not develop evolutionarily until man was partially diverted from his animal diet. We have eaten meat because we liked it, but it is comforting to know that our tastes are backed by sound judgment.

With this preliminary it is easier to sympathize with the following scene in 1841, quoted from Kendall's *The Texan-Santa Fe Expedition.* Kendall and his companions had been seeking a pass through the New Mexico mountains, subsisting on the scantiest and most irregular rations. On the mid-afternoon of the fourteenth day (the second day without food), they fell in with a band of seventeen thousand sheep near the Rio Gallinas. He wrote:

> Here a scene of feasting ensued which beggars description. We had been thirteen days upon the road, with really not provisions enough for three, and now that there was an abundance, our starving men at once abandoned themselves to eating—perhaps I should rather call it gormandizing or stuffing. No less than twenty large, fat sheep had been purchased and dressed, and every ramrod, as well as every stick that could be found, was soon graced with smoking ribs and shoulders, livers, and hearts. Many made themselves sick by over-eating; but an attempt to restrain the appetites of half-starved men, except by main force, would be the very extreme of folly. Had the food been anything but *mutton*, and had we not procured

an ample supply of *salt* from the Mexicans to season it, our men might have died from the surfeit.[1]

Among our westward-moving adventurers only the independent trappers made any attempt to live wholly off the country by hunting. These travelled either alone or in pairs. Tales of the game they found—bison, deer, antelope, bear, rabbit, turkey, prairie hen, doves, fish, etc.—need no repetition. But some well planned moves for western supply are significant.

Primitive civilization devised four standard means of retarding decomposition of meat. The drying method was probably the oldest with freezing and salting vying for second place. Finally there was the use of spices. Most American pioneers were of Anglo-Saxon descent, and objected to the highly pungent flavors inherent in the spicing method. These offered no deterrent to Latin-Americans, however, and the avid consumption of partially dried meats treated with peppers and other spices goes back to the Conquistadors. Freezing was used by the Canadian explorers and our "mountain men," but it was limited seasonally, and in addition frozen meat retained too much of its original weight for economical transport during travel. Therefore the drying method was the first popular system of processing along the frontier.

The great fur companies equipped their traders with jerky and pemmican: the former, air-dried or smoke-dried raw meat; the latter, similar meat into which melted fat had been poured. Sometimes dried currants and other wild fruits were mixed with the meat before the addition of fat.

The first reference to jerky in our trans-Mississippi West is found in the records of the Coronado Expedition. The Winship translation states:

> They dry the flesh (of the bison) in the sun, cutting it thin like a leaf, and, when dry, they grind it like meal to keep it, and make a sort of sea-soup of it to eat. A handful thrown into a pot swells up so as to increase very much. They season it with fat, which they always try to secure when they kill a cow (bison).[2]

After grinding the meat, the Indians made their pemmican by placing it in a rawhide bag the size of a pillow, hair side out. This bag was filled lightly and fluffily, much like feathers are placed in

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[1] George Wilkins Kendall, *The Texan-Santa Fe Expedition*, Chicago, 1929, 355-356.

[2] George Parker Winship, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540–1542," *Fourteenth Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1896, Part I, 527–528.

a pillow. Then suet was tried out and poured into the bag so that it covered every shred of the meat. When the sack was filled, the opening was sewed up and the seams rubbed with warm, softened tallow to seal them.[3] While the melted fat was congealing inside the bag, the latter was flattened out to a six or seven inch thickness, so that it could be stacked. Such a bag was known as a *piece* of pemmican, and weighed about ninety pounds, although it might vary from this average, ten pounds either way.

Pemmican was an important item of trade before the advent of the whites, especially in the Northwest, and, after the fur companies began to supply their trappers and *voyageurs* with it, it became the most important food item in prairie commerce. The fat was of great value, both from the standpoint of taste and nutrition. Where prices were quoted, jerky never brought more than half the price of pemmican. Because of its high cost, the use of pemmican was limited to long journeys or to the relief of famine. The cheapest meat, usually freshly killed or frozen, was used first; then came the strips of jerky or pounded meat, both supplemented by fat which was eaten separately, or melted so that the dried meat could be dipped into it; and finally the pemmican itself, which was hoarded longest and eaten last.

Pemmican was by far the favorite meat of the trappers, or "mountain men," who, for all but two weeks of the year, were exclusive meat eaters. Bernard de Voto wrote:

> As soon as soldiers and emigrants come into the west they highlight the normal good health of the trappers by developing dozens of ailments—ailments that the trappers never suffered from . . . A good part of the time they were not living on fresh meat. They regularly stopped to "make meat" whenever they encountered a buffalo herd.[4]

Hornaday states:

> Out of the enormous waste of good buffalo flesh one product stands forth as a redeeming feature—pemmican. Although made almost exclusively by the half-breeds and Indians of the Northwest, it constituted a regular article of commerce, of great value to overland traders, and was much sought for as long as it was produced. Its peculiar "staying powers," due to the process of its manufacture, which yielded a most nourishing food in a highly condensed form, made it of inestimable value to the overland traveler who must travel light, or not at all.[5]

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[3] Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *Not by Bread Alone*, New York, 1946, 186–187.

[4] *Ibid.*, 199.

[5] William Temple Hornaday, "The Extermination of the American Bison," *Annual Report*, United States National Museum, Washington, 1887, 447.

During the septennium, 1814–1821, a bloody feud was fought between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Fur Company that is commonly known as the Pemmican War. The Hudson's Bay Company was a strongly-entrenched London corporation which had been operating since 1670 in the fur trade of North America, by-passing French Canada via the Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. During its hundred years of monopoly, it tended to become indolent, failed to cultivate its Indian suppliers, and neglected its sources of raw material. Its agents established trading posts, principally at the points most accessible to Europe, and waited for the Indians to bring their pelts to them.

The Northwest Fur Company, on the other hand, was a Montreal corporaton, composed of affiliated traders, Canadian and Yankee, who secured their trading stock from Europe, and displayed a youthful aggressiveness which dated only from 1783. Before the older corporation realized it, the younger had bored so deeply into its trade that dividends declined from eight to four percent, and then wholly disappeared from 1809 to 1814. The success of the Northwest Company apparently depended upon the development of the best routes, the strongest travellers, and the most efficient travel methods. The Hudson's Bay Company used European foods, such as salt pork, bacon, hams and cured beef; the Northwest used pemmican. Pemmican was so much lighter and more compact than the European ration that the Northwest employees could make longer journeys and could carry bigger pay loads.

When the Earl of Selkirk, in 1811, attempted to transform the Pembina settlement on the Red River into an agricultural enterprise, the Northwest fur traders concluded this was a move by the Hudson's Bay Company, in the heart of the pemmican country, to destroy the buffalo and to ruin the Northwesters by depriving them of their food supply. A single buffalo produced only a hundred pounds of pemmican, and the Northwest Company required for its servants hundreds of thousands of pounds annually. Its operations could not be continued on the full scale basis, unless it could depend upon its supply in the Red River Valley.

In 1814 the Hudson's Bay Company asserted further authority by forbidding the *exportation* of pemmican from the Red River colony. So the Northwesters had to fight or yield, and they chose to fight. By this time both companies agreed that pemmican was more nourishing for its weight and bulk than European foods, and that pemmican would maintain a man in better health, particularly

by forestalling scurvy. In May, 1816, servants of the Northwest Company attacked and plundered a Hudson's Bay expedition of twenty-two men, going downstream on the Qu-Appelle River in five boats which were loaded with a considerable quantity of furs, and no less than twenty-seven tons of pemmican. About the end of May, MacDonnell, of the Northwesters, moved out with these captured furs and provisions. Twenty-five men of his group under Cuthbert Grant stormed the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post at Brandon House, in Manitoba, and looted it of British supplies, furs, and provisions, as well as the private property of the Hudson Company's servants. Moving east to Portage des Prairies, with a flank guard of Brulé Sioux, the plunder was landed from the canoes. From the six hundred bags of pemmican there was built a rampart or redoubt as a protective measure, armed with two swivel guns. Then on June 18, seventy of the Northwesters set out to attack the Selkirk colony at Pembina near the Red River, where Governor Semple had his headquarters. Michael Heden describes as a massacre what occurred:

> Boucher, the Canadian, advanced in front of his party, and, in an insolent tone, desired to know what he (Governor Semple) was about. Mr. Semple desired to know what he and his party wanted. Boucher said he wanted his fort. The governor desired him to go to *his* fort, upon which Boucher said to the governor, "Why did you destroy our fort, you damned rascal?" Mr. Semple then laid hold of the bridle of Boucher's horse, saying, "Scoundrel, do you tell me so?" Upon this Boucher jumped from his horse, and a shot was instantly fired by one of Grant's party of horsemen, which killed Mr. Holt, who was standing near Governor Semple. Boucher then ran to his party, and another shot was fired, by which Mr. Semple was wounded. The governor immediately cried out to his men, "Do what you can to take care of yourselves." But, instead of this, his party appears to have crowded about him, to ascertain what injury he had met with; and, while they were thus collected, the Brulés, who had formed a circle around them, fired a general volley among them, by which the greater part were killed or wounded. Those who were still standing, took off their hats, and called for mercy, but in vain:—the horsemen galloped forward, and butchered them.[6]

This was the most sensational episode of the "Pemmican" War, but for five more years it continued on a cut-throat basis, and ended only through the amalgamation of the two companies.

The manufacture of salted beef, barrelled pork, hams, and bacon for the West Indian trade, which grew up ahead of the American Revolution, provided the principal source of meat supply for the great emigration through the Appalachians into the Ohio River

[6] Stefansson, 224–225.

Valley. Bulk and weight were not as limiting factors as later on the prairies, and the great Conestoga wagons and Ohio flatboats required little distinction as to whether the mess supply was pickled beef or pork, or whether it was the less watery bacon and hams. As the settlements progressed downstream, or along the shores of the Great Lakes, new sources on which the emigrants could draw were rapidly developed, and early travellers and explorers, such as Major Long, Buttrick, Flint, Flower, Woods, Farnham, and Gregg, refer to re-supply with bacon all the way from the upper Allegheny River to Lake Erie, to points in Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, and to river landings along the Missouri from St. Charles to Independence.

One of the first interesting comments on the bacon from these new sources comes from Woods, who called attention to the necessity of drying the bacon thoroughly, since it would not keep in the warm, moist climate of the English Prairie in the Wabash-Ohio region of southeastern Illinois. He particularly commended the use of old wood, nearly rotten, for bacon drying, "as it makes much smoke and but little strong fire."[7] He felt the Americans did not allow sufficient salt for their baeon, but exhibited neither *knowledge* nor *experience* concerning the danger of salty provisions on trails where water supplies were scanty. However, he did recognize the value of its lighter weight.

Emigrants depending on eastern manufactured foods relied on bacon and flour as basic; for example, Farnham en route to Oregon lists his food supplies out of Independence, Missouri, in 1839, as "bacon and flour, salt and pepper, sufficient for four hundred miles . . . . secured in sacks."[8] Palmer, six years later advises per emigrant, seventy-five pounds of bacon, two hundred pounds of flour, thirty pounds of pilot bread, and proportionate amounts of rice, coffee, tea, sugar, dried beans, dried fruit, saleratus, corn meal, parched and dried corn, and vinegar.[9] From Independence to Santa Fe Gregg recommended fifty pounds each of bacon and flour, with ten of coffee, twenty of sugar, and a little salt. Beans, crackers, and "trifles of that description" were looked on as *dispensable*.[10]

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[7] John Woods, *Two Years Residence in the Settlement on the English Prairie in the Illinois Country of the United States*, London, 1822, 173.

[8] Thomas J. Farnham, *Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory* (2 vols.), London, 1843, Vol. I, 2.

[9] Joel Palmer, *Journal of Travels over the Rocky Mountains to the Mouth of the Columbia River*, Cincinnati, 1847, 143.

[10] Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies* (2 vols., 2d ed.), New York, Vol. I, 35.

In no plans for emigrant trains was bacon considered to be more than an emergency ration, to be drawn upon when game failed. The gold rush placed heavy demands on all usual sources of supply out of Independence and Kanesville, and some of the returning Argonauts felt that the fortunes of California were more quickly discovered in food than in gold dust. Thus Philip D. Armour, founder of the Company with which I am identified, when returning from the gold fields in 1856, stopped at Milwaukee, then the gateway to the West for traffic via the lakes or along their shores. It became the principal outfitting point for emigrants and travellers wishing to avoid the overcrowded southern routes. Mr. Armour briefly visited his home in Stockbridge, New York, and then returned to engage in the supply of bacon, hams, and dry salt pork for this eager trade. In 1859 he entered the firm of Miles & Armour, in 1863 Plankington & Armour, and in 1867 he opened the firm of Armour and Company in Chicago. Thus tenuously does my physical presence here tonight link up with the meat supply for the westward movement.

While there is naturally much interest in the methods of processing and transporting meat supplies, the romantic side of the story lay in the live animals. Furthermore, these were the domestic animals that travelled with the various expeditions, rather than the bison, deer, or other game with which Buffalo Bill, Pawnee Bill, and Buffalo Jones contracted at a later date to supply work parties. On various occasions along the frontier, hogs, cattle, sheep, mules, and horses provided the meat supply, though the last two were used only in extremity.

When Hernando de Soto left Cuba in 1539, the Gentleman of Elvas points out that the expedition was amply provisioned with "a great many hogs and loaves of cassava bread."[11] Thirteen of the hogs were sows, which in eleven months had increased to three hundred head in romantic Florida, though I have never seen this fact touted by their Chambers of Commerce to offset the competing Bimini stew of Bermuda. By October there were five hundred head, and approximately four hundred perished in the holocaust that accompanied a battle at Mauilla on the Tombigbee River.

In mid-December, 1540, Governor de Soto first fed roast pork to the Indians, at Chicaça, in Pontotoc County, Mississippi. The Gentleman of Elvas was the current society reporter, and quaintly wrote "The Governor invited the caciques and some chiefs to dine

[11] Theodore H. Lewis (ed.). *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, New York, 1907, 145.

with him, giving them pork to eat, which they so relished, though not used to it, that every night Indians would come up to some houses where the hogs slept, a crossbow shot off from the camp, to kill and carry away what they could of them."[12] This new appetite for pork led to the most severe Indian night attack of the entire expedition in March, 1541. Eleven Spaniards, fifty horses, and all of the remaining swine, except a hundred head, perished in the conflict.

A year later, the expedition reached northwestern Arkansas, not far from modern Fort Smith, after which it returned to the Mississippi. During the entire trip, the expedition travelled over three thousand miles, including territory in Florida, Georgia, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The herd of swine not only accompanied it over the whole route, but overcame disastrous attacks like those mentioned. In fourteen months the numbers had recovered from the hundred head of March, 1541, to seven hundred head at the time that "the magnanimous, the virtuous, the intrepid captain, Don Hernando de Soto, Governor of Cuba and Adelantado of Florida,"[13] departed this life, May 21, 1542. (There were press agents in those days also.) When the expedition started for Mexico in July, 1543, the flesh of the remaining pigs, as well as of the poorest horses, had been jerked and carried aboard the brigantines for provisions.

In aggregate tonnage more beef accompanied soldiers and emigrants than either pork or mutton. Various army records of a very interesting nature exist, but the story of cattle with emigrants is confusing, since draught animals and milk cows inextricably mingle with the beeves, even in Jesse Applegate's classic, *A Day With the Cow Column in 1843*. His description of the daily routine is of great interest today. Before 1843 it was widely believed that large herds of cattle could not be driven across country because of the scantiness of the pasturage. However, the party with which the Applegates travelled consisted of more than a thousand persons, with a hundred twenty wagons drawn by *six-ox* teams, and several thousand loose horses and cattle. Emigrants lacking livestock other than draught animals became disgruntled over helping care for them at each camp, also over having to travel across the wide perimeters covered by the large herds during night-grazing, in order to recover their own yokes of oxen each morning. Hence at the Big Blue

[12] *Ibid.*, 196.
[13] *Ibid.*, 233.

River in Kansas, the party broke into a light and a heavy column, with the extra livestock attached to the latter.

Applegate's description of the morning routine is picturesque.

> It is four o'clock A. M.; the sentinels on duty have discharged their rifles—the signal that the hours of sleep are over; and every wagon and tent is pouring forth its night tenants, and slowly kindling smokes begin largely to rise and float away on the morning air. Sixty men start from the (wagon) corral, spreading as they make through the vast herd of cattle and horses that form a semi-circle around the encampment, the most distant perhaps two miles away. The herders pass to the extreme verge, and carefully examine for trails beyond, to see that none of the animals have strayed or been stolen during the night . . . By five o'clock the herders begin to contract the great moving circle and the well trained animals move slowly toward camp, clipping here and there a thistle or tempting bunch of grass on the way. In about an hour, five thousand animals are close up to the encampment, and the teamsters are busy selecting their teams and driving them inside the "corral" to be yoked.[14]

When the column started out, promptly at seven o'clock, the herd of cattle followed to the rear and flank. But the herd drivers spent the last quarter of an hour before departure reforming the loose herd, which had been disorganized by cutting out the ox-teams, into a compact organization once more, ready for the day's drive. Applegate describes the appearance from a distance, on a day when he rode with the buffalo hunters seeking the day's provisions.

> They (the wagons) form a line three-quarters of a mile in length; some of the teamsters ride upon the front of their wagons, some walk beside their teams . . . Next comes a band of horses, two or three men or boys follow them, the docile and sagacious animals scarce needing this attention, for they have learned to follow in the rear of the wagons, and know that at noon they will be allowed to graze and rest . . . Not so with the large herd of horned beasts that bring up the rear; lazy, selfish, and unsocial, it has been a task to get them in motion, the strong always ready to domineer over the weak, halt in front, and forbid the weaker to pass them. They seem to move only in fear of the driver's whip; though in the morning full to repletion, they have not been driven an hour before their hunger and thirst seem to indicate a fast of days' duration. Through all the long day their greed is never sated nor their thirst quenched, nor is there a moment of relaxation of the tedious and vexatious labors of their drivers, although to all others the march furnishes some seasons of relaxation or enjoyment. For the cowdrivers there is none.[15]

Speaking further of the group of hunters and their daily assign-

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[14] Jesse Applegate, A *Day With the Cow Column in 1843*, (Joseph Schafer, ed.), Chicago, 1934, 5–6.

[15] *Ibid.*, 10–11.

ment of foraging meats, slaughter of the animals in the accompanying herd proved always a last resort in emigrant trains. Too often they knew nothing of the food supplies in that imaginary region of future happiness and contentment beyond the place where the sun went down. So they conserved their beeves to the bitter end, and welcomed the one type of cooperation which the travelling herd extended to them—luring the estrays from buffalo herds that frequently remained to graze among their cattle in the morning.

An incident of cattle slaughter near Fort Hall on the Snake River illustrates the rugged, simple, slapstick humor of the day.[16] An ox was slaughtered about a hundred yards outside the fort's wall, and the entrails left in the warm sun until the paunch was distended to the size of a large barrel. With the fertile imagination of youth, the boys devised a game of running and butting their heads against the paunch, which bounced them back in proportion to the force of contact. Soon a rivalry developed as to which boy could recoil the furthest. One long-necked, lanky boy, with a closely cropped head, experienced the expected calamity, penetrating the membrane instead of rebounding. His previous efforts had been so prodigious that the other boys all egged him on his final plunge with the yell, "Give her goss, Andy!" Fortunately his competitors rescued him before he smothered, but the youthful admonishment followed him through life. Years later Andy Baker was elected sheriff of Yamhill County, Oregon, on the campaign slogan, "Give her goss, Andy!"

Lore of the emigrant trail and the explorer is too abundant to retail anything but illustrative incidents of the meat supply on such an occasion as tonight. Since my major studies have been with sheep, I shall use them for the remaining events to be discussed in this paper. When the army became an essential factor in western pacification, but before roads were available, the problem of meat supply in a fast-moving campaign was not simple. During the Mexican War, sheep solved this problem better than cattle, and had it not been for the rather general distaste for mutton, the entire problem of meat rations would have been greatly simplified. Sheep had convenient speed. Years later, drivers trailing flocks from the Pacific Coast to the "Territories" learned that sheep travelled faster than the other species and overcame far more readily the broad intervals without water, and the vastnesses of sand, alkali, and sage. When mixed bands of the three species left the Coastal States, the horses led the way for the first few hundred miles, with the longer

[16] Jesse A. Applegate, *Recollections of My Boyhood* (Joseph Schafer, ed.), Chicago, 1934, 59–60.

striding cattle in front of the sheep. Then the feet of the heavier animals became tender, and they had to rest at the waterholes to rehydrate their tissues and regain their flesh. But while the larger stock recuperated, the sheep went on, nibbling grass or browse with each step. Characteristically they became the first to reach the hallowed spot of western romance, "the end of the trail."

Sheep had other advantages as self-transportable meat rations. Wherever feed was available they grazed as they marched, snatching a bite with each step. Therefore they would not reach the campground each day as quickly as cattle but, when they arrived, they were ready, after watering, to bed down and rest. Cattle, on the other hand, had to spend most of the night on their feet, hunting their pasturage, so that they never got their fill, nor could they lie quietly to chew their cuds and convert their feed into flesh. During a storm, cattle would stampede through the sentry lines and scatter, while sheep would drift before it, bunched together, and easily recovered. When feed and water were scarce, cattle would cover the horizon in vain search, and many valuable morning hours were spent by troops in gathering them and getting them under way. If predatory animals or marauding Indians attacked cattle at night, the herd stampeded and scattered to points where they could be killed or driven off with impunity. Sheep, on the other hand, were accustomed to human protection, and, when surprised, ran instinctively toward camp or their herders. In rare instances, this instinct was so strong that the rear of a frightened flock forced the leaders into the blaze of a campfire.

Many details are available on the use of sheep in the ration of the Mormon Battalion under Captain Philip St. George Cooke, en route from Santa Fe to California. Below Socorro, the column purchased its first sheep, three hundred head, "very poor—about half of them lambs, almost worthless."[17] The next day Lieutenant Smith purchased eighty more for a hundred dollars to make up for the lack of quality. What was more important, Cooke hired three Mexican shepherds to care for them, while the beeves were left to the mercies of the battalion's butchers by day and the sentries by night. When they reached the Colorado River, despite the long days following the barren Gila, they had a hundred thirty sheep on hand, and there were still eighty when they reached Warner's Ranch in California. No credit is given to the skill of those Mexican herders, but if the sheep deserved the epithets which Captain Cooke bestowed

[17] Ralph B. Bieber, *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, Glendale, 1938, 84.

on them at the Rio Grande (and they probably did), think what attention they must have had on the grasses of the Continental Divide, for after the deserts east and west of Yuma, Cooke was still able to exchange the last eighty for twenty fat bullocks from Colonel Jonathan Warner's herd.

The discovery of gold in California repeated moves for shepherds and stockmen that had been characteristic of new mining country ever since the days of Cortés. Hundreds of thousands of miners and adventurers poured into a region which had previously maintained only a few wandering tribes of Indians and still smaller numbers of retainers at the missions and *ranchos*. The demand for food became enormous. Sheep worth seventy-five cents to a dollar per head rose to twelve or fifteen dollars during the summer of 1849.

Probably the first man to recognize the opportunity was Judge Antonio José Otero,[18] uncle of New Mexico's governor from 1897 to 1906, Miguel Antonio Otero. Judge Otero sent his younger brother (the governor's father), and Antonio José Luna, his business representative (who was father of New Mexico's most constructive wool grower at the turn of the century, Solomon Luna), with approximately twenty-five thousand sheep, in a close succession of ten bands, all the way to the gold fields. Starting from La Constancia, in Valencia County, they followed the approximate route of the Sante Fe Railway across Arizona, skirted southern Nevada, moved up the Mohave River in California, crossed Tehachapi Pass, and then drove down the valleys to the north. Their individual bands were separated by only two or three miles, each being attended by three herders with their dogs. In the gold fields the sheep brought ten to twenty-five dollars per head, depending on the hunger of the prospectors and the supply of "dust."

By the spring of 1850 numerous flock-owners in New Mexico were preparing to follow the Otero-Luna example, and soon thousands of sheep and cattle were enroute. No compilations exist as to the number of these animals, but incidental letters and travellers' references indicate that a dozen or more expeditions may have terminated successfully. In 1851 at least twenty prominent New Mexican families were involved in the trade, and in 1852 came the classic drive of Uncle Dick Wootton, famed keeper of the toll road over the Raton Pass on the Colorado-New Mexico line. He left Taos, New Mexico, with nine thousand sheep, following the Rio Grande to the Continental Divide, thence down the Uncompahgre,

[18] Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864–1882*, New York, 1935, 282.

and other tributaries into Grand River (now called the Colorado), then across Utah via Spanish Fork, American Fork, Bingham Canyon, Tooele, and the desert, to Ibspah in Nevada. Thereafter he worked northward to the Humboldt and Carson rivers, crossed the Sierras to the American River, and proceeded down it to Elk Grove, twelve miles from Sacramento. Here the flock was wintered, and the following spring he sold eighty-nine hundred head, a net loss of only one hundred animals, which provided a record of cross-country driving without parallel. His gross return exceeded fifty thousand dollars.

Through 1852, more than a hundred thousand sheep were trailed to the "diggin's," and the next year the numbers were even greater. The big name of the year was Kit Carson who, with Lucien Maxwell of Maxwell Grant fame in New Mexico, drove over thirteen thousand sheep from the Rio Grande Valley below Santa Fe to Sacramento. By paying an anticipated passage toll to the Indian tribes whose country they crossed, they completed the trip without untoward incidents. Carson's widely advertised career set all California agog, for the newspapers kept announcing his location, progress, and probable date of arrival. The flocks were purchased by a San Francisco merchant, Samuel Norris, at $5.50 per head. This grossed over sixty thousand dollars, and Kit's half gave him the nest-egg of financial independence which he had been seeking.

But the drive that yielded *records* of sheep-trailing problems was the Flint-Bixby expedition of the same year.[19] This was the first season of big drives out of the Mississippi Valley, and flocks from Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Missouri, all set forth. The largest was nine thousand head of Ohio Merinos driven by Col. W. W. Hollister, for whom the city of Hollister, California, was named, but one to three thousand head each were handled by James Moore, the Wilson Brothers, Thomas Hildreth, the Flint Brothers with Llewellyn Bixby, and several others.

Trailing flocks from New Mexico to California presented no unfamiliar problems, but trailing from the Midwest by the northern route was another story. The sheep of the Southwest were customarily handled in bands of one to three thousand head, and moved out readily on the trail, bedding down at night according to regular custom. Bands traversing the northern routes, however, were gathered from Midwest farms having only ten to two hundred head.

[19] Thomas Flint, *Diary*, Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1923.

They were strange to each other, were comprised of mixed breeds and instincts, and knew nothing of cross-country droving. Much of the distance from the Mississipi River to the mountains had to be covered before the bands were "trail-broken."

Trials of the Gold Rush have been publicized, but trials of the sheep trails are little known. Western adventure was just as keen with a flock of sheep as with a wagon train, and the protection of a band of sheep was more difficult than the protection of women and children, for sheep had a blinder faith in their leaders. A few illustrations of the hazards, taken from Dr. Flint's diary, will serve to close this paper.

River crossings were always a problem. Bridges were practically non-existent, and there were only three substitutes, ferries, fords, and swimming. At Keokuk, Iowa, the tolls for the two thousand head ferried were sixty-two dollars. The Missouri was crossed by a flat boat propelled by oars, and the charge was only fifty-seven dollars, but two days were required for the passage as the boat could transport only a hundred-fifty head each trip. The party had to be split to protect the bands on each bank, an inconvenience even though the Indian menace close to the river was no longer important. At the Elkhorn River in Nebraska the ferry keeper demanded only $41.80, but a few days later at the Loup the charge mounted to one hundred dollars, so that the doctor thereafter swam or forded the flock. At the Green River in western Wyoming, the ferry owner held quite exalted views as to the value of his services, since he told Dr. Flint that he knew sheep were not good swimmers. A brief reconnaissance downstream disclosed a passable ford if the wagon beds were slightly raised. Taking advantage of the current, Flint succeeded in getting the sheep to follow the wagons, and landed them safely on the other bank after a two-hundred foot swim.

Forcing these eastern flocks to swim was no small task. On the Virjen River in southern Utah it proved necessary to cross the stream several times. Quoting Dr. Flint:

> As there were thirteen crossings to make ahead, I took charge of the sheep; the men with the sheep (being) weary and out-of-sorts, having had but little sleep . . . The first crossing we came to, the sheep stopped, but I thought if we pressed them quietly, the leading ones would swim across; therefore directed the shepherds not to make any noise, and to keep the dogs quiet also. In a little while the leader waded in, when the men began to shout and the dogs to bark, whereupon every sheep turned back to see what was up. It was my turn to get mad, apparently, so (I) gave them a good swearing

for not obeying orders. They were grouchy so, when the next attempt was made, they sullenly stood by at the places I put them, whilst I quietly worked the sheep, the outer ones crowding the ones at the edge of the water, and in a short time, being in the water, they broke for the opposite side, and there was no further delay.

Another problem the drover faced early on the trail was the trading of foot-sore stock. Just west of Scott's Bluff in Nebraska, the Flints and Bixby passed a trading post run by a half-breed Sioux where, Flint writes, "money is made by picking up lame stock or buying it cheaply, and keeping it until it is in good condition, and then selling or trading again. Their price (is) four to ten dollars for cattle, and a dollar for a sheep if it is fat." Near American Fork in Utah they were approached by the Mormons, "numbers of whom," he said, "are in camp, offering to barter for worn-out sheep, groceries, or anything."

Indians, stampedes, and straying all played their usual part, the injuries from stampedes occurring when crazed horses and cattle charged into the frightened flocks. Just before Christmas in 1853, Flint discovered that eighty-seven of Colonel Hollister's sheep had strayed to his band, while a hundred seventy-five of his own had joined Hollister. Dry drives were also a problem, for between one isolated water hole and the next, in western Wyoming, southern Utah, Nevada, and the Mohave Desert in California, the flock would become very disquieted and nervous. From the Virjen River to Las Vegas in Nevada they had a waterless drive of fifty-three miles, and in the center of the Mohave Desert another of more than forty-seven miles.

Alkali waters and poisonous plants were unforeseen by men from the East. Beyond Fort Laramie these problems became urgent. Minor occurrences all the way across Wyoming resulted first in the loss of three head to alkali water, then five to poisonous plants, and finally seven to poison near Independence Rock. Approaching the Sevier River in Utah several sheep showed poison symptoms, but Dr. Flint saved them all by pouring warm lard down their throats. Near Fillmore, Utah, another kind of poison killed fifteen head, while a hundred were spread out over the ground in spasms. Colonel Hollister lost eighty-six head here.

Finally, I cannot help but acknowledge my failure to do more than recount incidents. I recognize the premise of the interpretive historian, who reports his studies in terms of detached trends and social or economic forces. But in reading him, I often find that his interpretation seems opinionated, while his authorities are ulti-

mately based on the type of incidents reported tonight. There is some advantage in letting the incidents stand for themselves; there is also danger that without interpretation they become mere folklore. I hope you will realize that my own attempt is merely to present a cross-sectional view of the job of caring for the pioneer appetite.

When one tries to re-live any early scene, his curiosity leads him into all sorts of adventure and hazard. But this talk wears a dietary disguise, so I shall close with a plug for meat eating, of recent date, which as you can discern from my contours, has taken care of me personally over one man's lifetime:

COLONEL EDWARD N. WENTWORTH

Armour's Livestock Bureau
Chicago

French Priests in Western Pennsylvania, 1739-1759

Historians have dealt at some length with the brief French military occupation of Western Pennsylvania during the French and Indian war. But with the soldiers there were priests, and a unified story of their labors has never been told. It is a story having more than the artificial unity suggested by the geographical term, Western Pennsylvania. It forms a part of the narrative of France's struggle for a convenient highway to bind her Canadian possessions to the Ohio valley and Louisiana. That highway was the Allegheny River, whose tributaries, French Creek and Conewango Creek, were reached by portages from Presqu'Isle and Barcelona, on Lake Erie.

Our chief concern will be with the activities of the priests along this route as far south as the mouth of the Beaver River, twenty-five miles below the forks of the Ohio, from the time of the Longueuil expedition against the Chickasaw in 1739 to the ill-fated attempt of De Ligneris, proceeding from Ft. Machault, to relieve the siege of Ft. Niagara in 1759. Except for these twenty years, there seems to be no authenticated report of any priest's having set foot in Western Pennsylvania, that is, any part of Pennsylvania drained by the Ohio River system. During these two decades at least nine are known to have been in the region: the Jesuits De la Bretonnière, De Bonnécamps, and Virot; the Recollects Vernet, Anheuser, Baron, and Collet; the Sulpician Dépéret; and the secular Forget du Verger. Activities of these priests outside the territory defined will be treated but briefly and only by way of rounding out their biographies or in presenting their operations in the light of their proper historical setting.

For nearly twenty years before the Longueuil expedition the French had been using the Allegheny route in trading with the Shawnee Indians of Pennsylvania, but it was not until 1739 that a large party undertook a journey through that region.[1] The en-

[1] Some idea of the extent of the French trade with the Indians may be obtained from E.-Z. Massicotte's report of nearly forty engagements with voyageurs to make the trip to the "Shawnee village" from 1735 to 1744: "Répertoire des engagements pour l'Ouest conservés dans les Archives Judiciaires de Montréal," *Rapport de l'Achiviste de la Province de Québec* (RAPQ) *pour 1929–1930*, Quebec, 1930, 191–466.

terprise of that year is of interest to us because of the participation of three priests: De la Bretonnière, Vernet, and Dépéret.

Father de la Bretonnière, who is perhaps the first priest to offer Mass in Western Pennsylvania, was born at Bayeux, France, on May 4, 1689, and entered the novitiate in Paris on September 20, 1710. Following his noviceship he taught for several years and studied theology at the colleges of La Flèche and of Louis-le-Grand. He arrived at Quebec in 1721.[2]

In that year or in 1725 he began missionary work at Sault St. Louis under the direction of Father Pierre de Lauzon and settled himself to learn Iroquois.[3] Three years later, he took part in the expedition against the Fox as chaplain of the Caughnawaga Iroquois.[4] This expedition, which set out on June 5, 1728, returned by the end of September, and Father de la Bretonnière resumed his duties at Caughnawaga. In 1732, when Father de Lauzon was appointed superior-general of the Canadian Jesuit missions, Father de la Bretonnière was put in charge of the Sault. A letter written by Father Luc-François Nau to Father Bonin describes the daily routine at Caughnawaga and the activities of Father de la Bretonnière during this period.[5] The civilizing process was greatly impeded by prolonged absences of the braves on their hunts and on the warpath. In addition, they were often called upon to share in the French military expeditions. In 1736 they took a prominent part in the abortive attempt of the French to put an end to English-inspired Chickasaw uprisings in the Tennessee country. French attacking forces coming up from Louisiana and down from Illinois failed to unite. The whole party might have been annihilated had it not been for the bravery of the Indians of Sault St. Louis. The engagement is memorable for the deaths of the Illinois commander, Pierre d'Artaguette, and Vincennes, brother-in-law of Jolliet, who were fortified and joined in death at the stake by Father Antoine Sénat, S.J., who spurned a chance to escape and led the Frenchmen in prayers and the singing of hymns as the flames consumed them.[6]

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[2] C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1906, I, 190, n. 2; II, 25, n. 2.

[3] The date 1925 is given by E. J. Devine, S.J., in *Historic Caughnawaga*, Montreal, 1922, 192.

[4] This expedition is described in a letter of Father Crespel, January 10, 1742, cited in Rochemonteix, I, 190.

[5] Nau to Bonin, October 2, 1735, in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896–1901; hereinafter quoted as *JR*, 68: 260–285.

[6] J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700–1763)* Washington, D. C., 1935, 305–308.

When the survivors of this disaster had finally returned home to Canada, plans were laid for another concerted attempt against the Chickasaw. An expedition was organized under the leadership of Baron de Longueuil, nephew of Bienville, governor of Louisiana. The party totalled 442 men, of whom 319 were Indians. The chaplain of the soldiers was Father Vernet, a Recollect about whom nothing is known to the present writer; the chaplains for the Indians were "Father La Bretonnière, Jesuit missionary of the Iroquois at the Sault," and "M. Queret, Priest and missionary of the savages from the Lake of Two Mountains."[7] Father Vitry, Jesuit chaplain with the Louisiana troops says that "most of the Indians from Canada are Christians. Two missionaries came with them, the Sulpician M. du Perret, and the Jesuit Father de la Bretonnière. The troops from Canada have a Recollect Father for their chaplain."[8] This spelling of the Sulpician's name is probably more correct than the one previously given as Queret, permitting identification with the Sulpician Élie Dépéret, who is listed by Tanguay as having been skilled in Indian languages and as having been charged by the King of France to accompany the Indians on their expeditions.[9]

The Longueuil roster included no fewer than 166 Iroquois of the village of the Sault, fifty-one Iroquois from the Lake of the Two Mountains, thirty-two Algonkin and Nipissings, probably from the same mission, and fifty Abnaki of the villages of St. Francis and Bécancour. In letters to the minister of the marine, both Governor Beauharnois and the intendant, Hocquart, ascribed the large turnout of the Iroquois to the efforts of Father de Lauzon.[10] As early as 1729 Father de Lauzon had asked for more help for his Caugh-

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[7] The roster will be found in S. K. Stevens and D. H. Kent, eds., *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil,* mimeographed, Harrisburg, 1940, 13–15.

[8] "The Journal of Father Vitry, S.J.," MID-AMERICA, XXVIII (January 1946), 42.

[9] C. Tanguay, *Répertoire général du clergé canadien,* Quebec, 1868, gives as the date of Father Dépéret's birth July 28, 1691, at Limoges. He arrived in Canada August 22, 1714, was ordained September 21, 1715, and served at Pointe-Claire from 1718 to 1721. He died April 17, 1757, at Ste Anne du Bout de l'Ile. A more extended account is given in J. Pilling, *Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages,* Washington, D. C., 1888, 55. He gives the date of Dépéret's birth as 1690 and his name as *Père* Élie, rather than Pierre-Élie, as in Tanguay. He adds that Father Dépéret was missionary to the Algonkins at Ile aux Tourtes, then at Lac des Deux Montagnes, then at La Galette (now Ogdensburg), where he replaced Abbé Piquet during the latter's visit to France in 1753–1754. He cites several catechetical and linguistic works prepared by Father Dépéret in the Algonquian and Iroquois languages.

[10] Beauharnois to Maurepas, June 30, 1739, cited in *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil,* 9; Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, *ibid.,* 11.

nawaga mission, but was refused and accused of carrying on an illicit trade. When he returned to the Sault he was physically affected and his death in 1742 was thereby hastened.[11]

The priests of the expedition must have found stimulating the company of a number of young officers destined to play important roles in Western Pennsylvania and Canadian history, among them Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, who became the first man to construct an adequate map of the Ohio River system. He had entered the *petit séminaire* of Quebec at the age of ten.[12] Probably he took what the Jesuits had to give in hydrography and cartography. At any rate, his father, who was chief engineer of New France, supplemented this teaching with his private instruction and obtained for him the post of assistant engineer when he was but eighteen years years of age, on the occasion of the organization of the Longueuil expedition.[13]

The party of avengers, setting forth in June, took the route along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, past the English Ft. Oswego. The Indians had promised to leave English whiskey alone, but about seventy Abnaki and some of the Iroquois from the Lake of Two Mountains found the temptation too strong. They deserted.[14] By the fourth of August the expedition arrived at the outlet of Lake Erie, above the Falls, and soon thereafter reached the Chautauqua portage. This ten-mile trek up Chautauqua Creek to the lake lying about 730 feet above Lake Erie must have been arduous in August for a military outfit carrying enough provisions for a sixteen hundred mile journey.

In his *Journal* of 1754, when De Léry was again at Chautauqua, he indicates the camp site of the 1739 expedition at the head of the lake.[15] From here their route led down Conewango Creek into the Allegheny River at the present site of Warren, Pa. Father de Bonnécamps' journal of the Céloron expedition which followed the

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[11] Rochemonteix, II, 20 f., 246, 256.

[12] See Lucy Elliot Keeler, "Old Fort Sandoski of 1745 and the 'Sandusky Country,'" *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society Publications*, 17 (1908), 357–430; a portrait of De Léry on page 365.

[13] De Léry to Maurepas, October [20?], 1739, in P.–G. Roy, ed., *Inventaire des papiers De Léry conservés aux Archives de la Province de Québec*, 3 vols., Quebec, 1939–1940, II, 3–8.

[14] Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, in *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 10.

[15] *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, frontispiece. On page 4 of the same work his map of the Ohio is reproduced. It is also found in J. Reynolds, *In French Creek Valley*, Meadville, 1938, 18. As recently as 1937, a *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 131–137, definitely settled the date of the survey as 1739 instead of 1729, the method of cartography as "compass," the cartographer as De Léry *fils*, not *père*.

same route ten years later is discussed below and gives a good idea of the experiences of the Longueuil party in Pennsylvania. For the early part of the 1739 journey De Léry's diary has been lost, but his diary for the later part indicates that the priests were saying Mass often.[16] Thus it may be inferred that they said Mass more than once in passing through Pennsylvania. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that there was little danger of attack by a large enemy force. These Masses may well have been the first offered in Western Pennsylvania. Whether the honor of the first belongs to a Recollect, Jesuit, or a Sulpician, we have no way of knowing. From the diary of Father de Bonnécamps, we know that the Céloron expedition of 1749 required about two weeks to travel from Chautauqua Lake near the New York border to Logstown near the Ohio border, so we may safely infer that the Longueuil expedition must have been in Pennsylvania on at least one Sunday, when Mass certainly would have been said. However, unlike Céloron, who could afford to proceed leisurely, holding many councils with the Indians along the Allegheny and Ohio, Longueuil had an appointment to fulfill in the Chickasaw country. Even so, he probably found time to stop at Broken Straw village (Irvine), at the Delaware village of Attigué (Kittaning), and at the Shawnee village presided over by the French-Shawnee trader, Peter Chartier, on the west bank of the Allegheny near the present-day Tarentum.[17] The French government in Canada, fearful of English influence, had tried to persuade these Indians to move farther west. So it is likely that if we had the early part of De Léry's diary we would read that the expedition stopped at Chartier's Town, distributed presents to the Indians, and held a council in which they again urged the Shawnee to move westward under the protecting arm of their French father.[18]

Somewhere along the Ohio or Allegheny the party probably

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[16] "Journal de la campagne faite par le détachment du Canada sur les Chicachas en février 1740 . . . ," is published in *RAPQ*, 1922–1923, 157–165. De Léry indicates that Mass was said on several stops along the Ohio.

[17] Chartier and his group were settled by Beauharnois on the Vermilion River in the Wabash country in 1745. See A. A. Lambing, "Céloron's Journal," *Historical Researches*, 2 (1886), 109, note 11.

[18] But on August 1 the Shawnee had promised the governor of Pennsylvania never to join a nation hostile to the English. In an address to the assembly January 23, 1740, Governor Thomas warned that a considerable body of French, "in conjunction with a body of Indians, made a longer march a few months ago to attack some nations of Indians to the southward than will be necessary to bring them even to this city." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (hereinafter cited as *Colonial Records*), 16 vols., Philadelphia, 1852–1853, IV, 380 f.

stopped to acquire an additional hundred Iroquois warriors which Hocquart had engaged to join the expedition along the way.[19] From Céloron's journal we know that Longueuil did stop at Logstown and at the mouth of the Scioto, where there was a Shawnee village whose warriors seem to have been willing to accompany him.[20] Two items of anthropological interest attracted the attention of the young De Léry on the journey. The first was the group of Indian petroglyphs at the mouth of the Little Beaver Creek.[21] The second was the discovery of the remains of huge prehistoric animals at Big Bone Lick, in the present state of Kentucky, a record of which he has left on his map of the Ohio.[22]

Much to the disgust of the French back home, the expedition accomplished virtually nothing. On August 15, 1739, Bienville set up camp at Fort Assumption (Memphis), where he was joined shortly afterwards by La Buissonnière of Illinois, Céloron of Detroit, and lastly Longueuil.[23] Exhausted from the strain of their long trip and the heavy burden of military supplies, the Canadians waited until February 1, 1740, before going to the attack under the direction of Céloron. The Chickasaw quickly sued for peace, which Bienville granted in April. Then the Louisiana governor set fire to Fort Assumption and returned to New Orleans, taking his nephew Longueuil with him and leaving the Chickasaw free to recommence their forays against the whites. It appears from a letter of Father Nau to his mother (October 2, 1740) that Father de la Bretonnière accompanied Bienville. Father Nau writes: "Father de la Bretonnière, who accompanied our Indians on this expedition, returned to France by way of the Mississippi. I don't believe he will return to Canada." But Father Nau was mistaken, for Father de la Bretonnière did return to Quebec and was named superior of Montreal in 1743.[24]

In 1750, he was appointed to replace Father Tournois as head

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[19] Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 10.

[20] "Céloron's Journal," *Historical Researches*, II (1886), 145 f.

[21] Charles A. Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, 2 vols., New York, 1911, II, 82.

[22] " . . . *où il [Longueuil] a fait mettre Les Armes du Roy en 1739.*" This appears to be the first mention by the French of their official claim to the river. See *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*, 5.

[23] The events at Ft. Assumption are treated in detail in Father Vitry's *Journal*, cited above.

[24] Nau to his mother, October 2, 1740, quoted in Rochemonteix, II, 25, n. 2. Father Devine in *Historic Caughnawaga*, 234, says: "A false rumor was spread that he would go back to France by way of New Orleans and might not return to Canada."

of the Caughnawaga mission, but the Indians sent word that they preferred Father Floquet, so the appointment was changed accordingly.[25] We can only guess as to the motive behind the Indians' choice. Perhaps Father de la Bretonnière was a bit too strict for their liking. From 1752 till his death on August 1, 1754, he was confessor at the college of Quebec.[26]

Longueuil's expedition was the first recorded visit by white men in the Ohio valley, but Father Mermet, Jesuit, reported English trading forts on the Ohio and Mississippi as early as 1715.[27] After 1740 the number of English traders in the Ohio valley rapidly increased. Enjoying many competitive advantages over the French traders, with the help of such envoys as George Croghan and Conrad Weiser they encouraged a concentration of Indian population in the region just below the forks of the Ohio. Foreseeing the development of this territory, a company of Virginia gentlemen under the leadership of Lawrence Washington formed the Ohio Land Company in 1749 and asked the grant of a half million acres.

Seeing that control of the Allegheny and Ohio meant control of the West, the Marquis de la Galissonnière, New France's energetic governor-general, notified the governor of Pennsylvania to keep English traders out of the region west of the Alleghany Mountains. To back up his threat with action he dispatched Céloron de Blainville in the summer of 1749 with an expedition designed to sweep out all trade rivals and to prepare the way for military occupation of the whole route from Montreal to the Mississippi by way of the forks of the Ohio. The chaplain of the expedition was the Jesuit Father Joseph Pierre de Bonnécamps.[28]

The study and teaching of science and mathematics were the whole absorption of Father de Bonnécamps in New France when he was not on exploring parties. Born at Vannes on September 7, 1708, he entered the Jesuit novitiate in Paris on November 3, 1727. Following his philosophy at La Flèche, he taught at Caen and Vannes, and made his theology at Louis-le-Grand College, Paris. At the completion of his course in 1743 he left for Quebec, where

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[25] Some time between 1743 and 1749, Father de la Bretonnière must have returned to Sault St. Louis. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga*, 251, says "Father de la Bretonnière, associated with Tournois for several years at Caughnawaga, was named to succeed him, but the Indians insisted . . . etc." *JR*, 69: 77 lists him as "among the Iroquois" in 1749.

[26] Rochemonteix, I, 190 f, n. 2.

[27] Letter of Father Mermet to —, 1715, cited in *The Wilderness Trail*, I, 18; II, 131.

[28] Biographical notes on Father de Bonnécamps are given in *JR*, 69: 288, 70: 82, 71:174.

he was made professor of hydrography. There he made his profession of the four vows on December 8, 1746.[29]

It was in June of 1749 that Father de Bonnécamps received the commission to accompany Céloron on an expedition fated to receive much more historical attention than the earlier and no less important journey of Longueuil. Céloron's activities have been treated fully by Lambing, Marshall, Galbreath, and others; and a critical analysis of their studies would be out of place here. We shall rather concentrate on the part played by Father de Bonnécamps, adding other notes only if they seem to clarify or correct what has already been written.[30]

The purpose of the expedition is clearly set forth in the following letter of La Galissonnière to the minister of the marine, June 26, 1749:

> I have ordered Sieur de Céloron to take anew possession of the Belle Rivière [Ohio], and I have charged him to make a thorough survey of it and to determine what forts can be established on its banks. I have given him as chaplain the Reverend Father de Bonnécamps, Jesuit mathematician, who will be able to make more complete and detailed reports than have yet been given of that country and the route which the detachment will follow.[31]

As early as October of the previous year Father de Bonnécamps had ordered new equipment for his course in navigation through the intendant Bigot: he requested a clock showing seconds, a telescope, a quadrant three feet in radius with a telescopic sight instead of sight-vanes, and a lodestone. Rochemonteix says: "The quadrant did not arrive at Quebec until after the voyage down the Ohio; consequently his observations did not have the precision desired."[32]

Céloron's first entry states that he went out from La Chine on the fifteenth of June with a detachment composed of one captain,

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[29] Rochemonteix, II, 74, n. 3.

[30] C. B. Galbreath, *Expedition of Céloron to the Ohio Country in 1749*, Columbus, 1921, contains an article republished from the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* of October, 1920, along with journals of Céloron and De Bonnécamps and Father Lambing's critical notes on Céloron's *Journal* published in various numbers of *Historical Researches*, 1884–1886. Also included are the critical notes of O. H. Marshall from the *Magazine of American History*, II, 129–150.

[31] Rochemonteix, II, 74.

[32] Bigot to Maurepas, October 9, 1748, *ibid.*, 75. De Bonnécamps himself distrusted the accuracy of his observations of distance and direction because of the weakness of his compass, the alternations of river currents, the motions of waves and rowers. Thus it is not surprising that his latitudes are often wrong by several minutes, although his map is reasonably close to the actual course of the Ohio. For a discussion of the map, see *JR*, 69: 294. There are good reproductions in Galbreath's work and in Archer Hulbert, *The Ohio River, A Course of Empire*, New York, 1906, 26.

six cadets, eight subaltern officers, one chaplain, twenty soldiers, 180 Canadians, and about thirty Indians, there being as many Iroquois as Abnaki. Prominent among the officers were Contrecoeur, later commander-in-chief of all French forces in Western Pennsylvania, the Joncaire brothers, and De Villiers. Journals of this trip by way of Chautauqua Lake and the Allegheny were kept by both Céloron and Father de Bonnécamps.[33]

Ascending the dangerous rapids, most of the twenty-three canoes were badly damaged on the second day, and on the third day out, the canoe of one of the Joncaire brothers overturned. One of its four occupants was drowned. On the return trip Father de Bonnécamps, with the pride of a true voyageur, boasts that he "shot all the rapids." Always critical of overstatement, he remarks that their danger "had been rather exaggerated." There are other examples in his diary of the same conservatism. Not far above the mouth of French Creek, in Pennsylvania, Chabert de Joncaire caught seven rattlesnakes, the markings of which are described with meticulous accuracy by De Bonnécamps. With regard to the popular belief that squirrels are hypnotized by the serpents, he comments: "I have read a statement similar to this reported in philosophical dissertations; but I do not give it credence, for all that." Stopping at the mission of the Sulpician Abbé Piquet, at La Présentation on the St. Lawrence, he observes that, "according to Abbé Piquet, the soil is excellent, but it did not appear so to us." When, approaching the Great Kanawha River of Virginia, they saw but a few buffalo, he laments the hyperbole and exaggeration of those Canadians who had assured him there would be such a plenty that the tongues alone would supply enough meat to support the troops.

Because of the variety of its observations, Father de Bonnécamps' account is one of the most revealing of its time. He lists many of the valuable species of trees he has noticed, and mentions such items as large crabs and wild turkeys. Yet he does not value highly his ability as a biologist: "Eyes more trained than ours would perhaps have made discoveries which would have pleased arborists." Knowing the restraint of his other accounts, we are inclined to believe his story of having dined near the forks of the Ohio in a hollow "cotton-tree in which twenty-nine men could be ranged side by side."

The present writer can testify to the faithfulness of his descrip-

[33] I am following substantially the translation of Céloron's diary given by Father Lambing in *Historical Researches*, and of De Bonnécamps' as given in *JR*, 69: 151–199.

tion of the famous Indian God Rock, on the Allegheny River about nine miles below the mouth of French Creek. In his entry for the third of August he notes:

> We continued our route, and we marched, as on the first day, buried in the somber and dismal valley, which serves as the bed of the Ohio. We encountered on our route two small villages of loups [Wolf clan of Delawares] where we did not halt. In the evening, after we disembarked, we buried a second plate of lead under a great rock, upon which were to be seen several figures roughly graven. These were the figures of men and women, and the footprints of goats, turkeys, bears, etc., traced upon the rock. Our officers tried to persuade me that this was the work of Europeans; but, in truth, I may say that in the style and workmanship of these engravings one cannot fail to recognize the unskillfulness of Indians. I might add to this, they have much analogy with the hieroglyphics which they use instead of writing.[34]

He does not mention the very similar petroglyphs at the mouth of the Little Beaver that had attracted De Léry's attention. Much to his chagrin, he actually missed Big Bone Lick.

Father de Bonnécamps' *Journal* contains much information concerning the disposition of the Indian tribes and notes concerning military forts and their potential locations. His map indicates numerous small villages of Iroquois and Delawares along the Allegheny, many of whose occupants took fright and ran into the woods. At Attigué "all the people had fled to the woods. Seeing this, we went on, and came to the old village of the Chaouanons (Chartier's Shawnee village), where we found only a man and a woman, so old that their united ages would make fully two centuries." Soon after they left this place they came upon five English traders with about forty packets of the skins of bears, otters, cats, precans [raccoons?] and roe-deer. These men were ordered out of the valley and given a letter of warning to the "governor of Philadelphia."[35]

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of August 8 they came to Logstown, or Chinningué (Shenango) as Father de Bonnécamps puts it. The banks were lined with people, who saluted the French with four volleys. After an exchange of compliments with the chiefs, Céloron demanded that the English flag—flying beside the French—be pulled down. Eighty men were placed on guard that night, and all the French and Canadians slept in their clothing. Next morn-

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[34] Tracings which I made of these figures are reproduced in Donald A. Cadzow, *Petroglyphs*, Safe Harbor Report No. 1, Harrisburg, 1934, 48–50. They include such traditional symbols as the Underground Monster and the Thunderbird.

[35] Céloron's account has six English soldiers, with fifty horses and about 150 bales of furs.

ing Joncaire was advised that eighty warriors were starting from Kuskuskis on the Big Beaver to aid Logstown in an attack on the French. The bold front of Céloron's men so impressed the Indians that they quietly withdrew without causing any disturbance.

As the expedition proceeded past the mouth of the Scioto and then up the Miami toward Detroit, it met with the same hostile reception, even rifle fire from one Shawnee village. Add to these difficulties the terrible storms in which the party nearly foundered on Lake Ontario, giving some hint of an important reason for developing an inland water route to the Mississippi. Unfavorable winds, choppy waters and ice lingering sometimes until May made travel on the Great Lakes extremely undependable.

It should not be forgotten that Father de Bonnécamps was chaplain to the Indians on the voyage and was not unique in experiencing trials to his patience. It was inevitable that some of the Indians should have dallied at Ft. Chouegen to imbibe the English rum. Apparently they brought some of it along to the Niagara portage and held up the progress of the expedition while they amused themselves. Forced to wait again for them at Detroit, Father de Bonnécamps' annoyance is manifest in his reference to the Indians as "a class of men created in order to exercise the patience of those who have the misfortune to travel with them."

Céloron and Father de Bonnécamps arrived in Quebec on November 18, their journey having consumed nearly six months. Father de Bonnécamps' report was pessimistic concerning the actual or even potential character of Canadian colonists in the Illinois country. Those that had been sent there were very indolent, some had even removed to other places. Céloron was equally pessimistic, both as to the disposition of the Indians toward the French and the possibility of French traders' successfully competing with the English. With the additional note of difficulty of transporting supplies to that distant region, he touched on the very factors that were to doom the French to ultimate defeat on the Ohio.

George Croghan and Andrew Montour, acting immediately to counteract Céloron's influence, went to Logstown and found the Indians very desirous of an English fort on the Ohio. A few days later they were joined there by Christopher Gist, representing the Ohio Company, who was sent out on a similar mission. Like Weiser and Post, other English agents among the Indians, he was a very religious man. In his journal for 1750 he describes a Christmas service "according to the Church of England" he held for the Ohio Indians. He found that they had been supplied by the French with

a device for telling the days of the week so that they could maintain Sunday observance while away on their hunts.[36]

In the following year, 1751, Joncaire contested with Croghan and Montour for the friendship of the Indians at Logstown, but suffered the humiliation of seeing them cast in their lot with the English. British ascendancy was short-lived, however, for upon the death of De la Jonquiére the alert Marquis Duquesne became governor-general of New France and immediately began the strengthening of the long sinuous communication line whose weakest section was Western Pennsylvania. Early in 1753, under the command of Peter Marin, the French erected a fort at Presqu'Isle, near the foot of the present Parade Street, Erie. From this point a portage plank road fifteen miles long was laid through swampy territory to a second little fort erected on a little lake which emptied into La Rivière aux Boeufs (French Creek, at Waterford Pa.). Here at Ft. Le Boeuf pirogues and canoes were constructed for the transportation of military suppliess down meandering French Creek into the Allegheny at Venango.[37] Here Joncaire failed to win the consent of the Delaware chief, Custeloga, to the building of a fort, but took up winter quarters in the house of an English trader.

Following the conventions of the period, which ruled out much winter fighting, the majority of the French troops withdrew into Canada, leaving but a small garrison at the two forts. Provision for religious services was made by the inclusion of a chapel in each of the forts. For our knowledge of the chaplains of these forts we are indebted to a *Register of the Baptisms and Interments which took place at Fort Duquesne during the years 1753, 1754, 1755, and 1756.* For an English translation of this work we have followed Father Lambing, who has printed the *Register* in both French and English, in installments, with annotations, in *Historical Researches*, 1884 and 1885.[38] This record was compiled from a collection of duplicate reports signed by the commanders of the forts and sent to Canada. The *Register* is apparently incomplete, for it is certain that there were more deaths during the Ohio campaign than are recorded here. Although intended as a record for Ft. Duquesne, "at the Beautiful river, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," the *Register* includes interments made

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[36] Darlington, ed., *Christopher Gist's Journals*, Pittsburgh, 1893, 37–39.

[37] The history of this route is well treated in S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *The Venango Trail*, mimeographed, Harrisburg, 1940.

[38] This publication was issued as the *Catholic Historical Researches* beginning with the second volume and continuing until October, 1886.

at Forts Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf before the building of Ft. Duquesne.

The first entry is that of Gabriel Anheuser, Recollect, July 11, 1753, in which he cites the death and interment of John Baptist Texier, a soldier at Presqu'Isle. The second entry, made at Presqu' Isle on July 31, is signed by Father Denys Baron, Recollect, "chaplain *in* the said detachment," and Father Anheuser, "chaplain *of* the detachment." The next two, August 20 and September 6, signed by Anheuser, are of interments at Ft. Le Boeuf, indicating that he must have taken over the duties there, leaving Father Baron at Presqu'Isle. These are the last entries made by Father Anheuser, so it is possible that he returned to Canada with the main force, leaving Father Baron as head chaplain. It was a sorry group of soldiery that finally reached Canada. The few horses that had been available for transport of goods from Presqu'Isle to Le Boeuf had died under their burdens, and human backs took over the work, men wading knee-deep in mud, weak from lack of nourishment. When the emaciated soldiers reached Montreal and Quebec the governor and inhabitants were horrified at their condition.[39]

All the additional information we have on Father Anheuser is that given by Tanguay: "Haneuzer, Gabriel, *Recollect,* ordained at Quebec, August 30, 1752, and died February 21, 1762. His name is encountered in the registers of Three-Rivers."[40]

It is possible that Father Anheuser may have exchanged places with Father Baron and may not have gone to Canada until the following spring. An entry in De Léry's diary for June 19, 1754, informs us that "the chaplain of Fort de la Presqu'Isle arrived at the Chautauqua portage, sick with fever."[41] This could not have been Father Baron, for he was then at Ft. Duquesne.

Four entries from September 16, 1753, to March 11, 1754, imply that Father Baron was officiating at the little chapel of St. Peter in Ft. Le Boeuf when Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent the twenty-one-year-old George Washington with Christopher Gist to Ft. Le Boeuf on December 11, 1753, to demand an explanation of the French occupation. His message was carefully considered by Le Gardeur de St. Pierre and Louis Le Gardeur de Repentigny, De Léry's brother-in-law, whom St. Pierre had just succeeded. The French commander replied that he was acting under orders from

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[39] Duquesne to Rouillé, November 29, 1753, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (NYCD), 10: 255.

[40] *Répertoire du clergé canadien,* 114.

[41] S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *Journal of Chaussegros de Léry, 1754–1755,* mimeograph, Harrisburg, 1940, 118.

the governor of Canada, leaving the implication that if Washington wished to know more he might consult Duquesne himself.[42]

The command to which St. Pierre fell heir was no sinecure. His predecessor, Marin, a sick man of "peevish and cholerick" disposition, had despaired utterly and begged his men to tie him to a chair and then set fire to the fort, that he might perish in the flames. This, Repentigny and the other officers, who despised him, refused to do.[43] The resolution of this situation is precisely put by the *Register*:

> In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, on the twenty-ninth of October at half-past four in the evening, died in the fort of French Creek, under the title of St. Peter, Monsieur Peter Paul, *Escuyer,* Sieur de Marin, Knight of the royal military order of St. Louis, Captain of Infantry and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Beautiful River, aged sixty-three years, after having received the sacraments of Penance, Extreme Unction, and the viaticum. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the same fort by us, Recollect priest, chaplain of the said fort and during the campaign of the Beautiful River. There was present at this interment Monsieur Repentigny, commander of the above mentioned army and captain of infantry, Messieurs du Muys, lieutenant of infantry; Benois, lieutenant of infantry; de Simblim, major at the above mentioned fort; (and) Laforce, guard of the magazine, who signed with us.
>
> Le Guardeur de Repentigny,
> Laforce, Benois, du Muys,
> J. Depré Simblim.
> Father Denys Baron,
> Recollect priest, chaplain.

A few days after Washington's return to Virginia, Captain Trent began the erection of a fortified storehouse at Redstone (Brownsville) on the Monongahela. At the same time Ensign Ward and a few English soldiers, with the permission of the Ohio valley Indians, started construction of a fort at the forks of the Ohio. At Logstown La Chauvignerie had already taken up residence for the French and was busily squaring up stones, evidently for a fort at that location. There was similar activity on French Creek, for Joncaire had finally broken down Indian resistance to French occupation at the mouth of the creek; here Ft. Machault was erected.

Contrecoeur, commanding about a thousand French and Indians, went down the Ohio in April, 1754, drove away Ensign Ward, and

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[42] J. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of Washington (1748–1799)*, 4 vols., Boston, 1925. Washington speaks of a chapel in the fort, I, 59.

[43] Reported by Stephen Coffen, deserter from the French, in his deposition in *NYCD*, 6: 835.

began the erection of Ft. Duquesne. Father Baron's first entry there was of June 20, 1754. Inasmuch as his last interment at Ft. Le Boeuf was dated March 11, we may conclude that he moved down the river to Ft. Duquesne with the main body of troops and thus witnessed the important events that were to culminate in the French and Indian War in this country and the Seven Years' War in Europe.[44]

Major Washington himself gave orders for the firing of the shot which broke the mounting tension. Informed by his Indians that a party of French were in hiding near the summit of the mountain near present-day Uniontown, on May 28 he led his men to the spot under cover of darkness and attacked. With one exception, all the thirty-five French were either killed or taken prisoner. Jumonville's skeleton lies today beneath a little pile of stones where he fell.[45]

The French reaction to what they considered a treacherous assassination was instantaneous and effective. Jumonville's brother, Louis de Villiers, raced to Ft. Duquesne with a detachment from Canada. If, as Parkman assumes, De Villiers was still in Canada when the news of his brother's death reached him, he must have broken all speed records in assembling his forces and descending the Ohio. In his *Journal* for June 14 De Léry reports his arrival at Chautauqua Lake:

> At 6 o'clock in the evening M. de Villiers, captain, at the head of the Nipissingues and Algonkins, M. de Longueuil [son of the 1739 leader], commander, at the head of the Iroquois, M. de Montesson, lieutenant, at the head of the Abnaki, and M. de Longueuil, second ensign, with the Hurons of Lorette, arrived here. All the nations together numbered 120 to 130 men.[46]

Conforming to Indian conventions, Contrecoeur called a council of war when the party reached Ft. Duquesne, in which he and the other officers urged the Christian Indians to avenge the death of Jumonville. The council probably had the added effect of impressing the Pennsylvania Indians with the equality and dignity which the French accorded to their domiciled Indians. At any rate, some of the Pennsylvanians, albeit hesitantly, joined the French. On June 26 François de Villiers, another brother, arrived from Ft. Chartres

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[44] The war was fought unofficially until 1756. The fighting from then until the Peace of Paris in 1763 was called the Seven Years' war.

[45] See De Léry's *Journal* for July 16, 1754, 36–38, for the French reaction to his death. For pictures of the grave site, see Hulbert, *The Ohio River*, 46, 70.

[46] F. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, 2 vols., Boston, 1927, I, 159.

on the Mississippi with three hundred Illinois and fifty French and immediately asked for command of the punitive expedition.[47]

Sources of our information about the movements of the party that set out next morning are a diary kept by a soldier who merely signs himself "J.C.B." and the journal of De Villiers.[48] On the second day J.C.B. writes that "before setting out the next morning [June 29], Mass was said at the camp by the chaplain."[49] The chaplain is mentioned by De Villiers in his entry at the Redstone fort, deserted storehouse of the Ohio Company at the mouth of Redstone Creek: "The first of July, I left there a capable sergeant with twenty men and some sick Indians, likewise the pirogues and some munitions. The chaplain was not able to continue on the journey; he gave us general absolution and returned to the hangar."[50]

Apparently on the assumption that Mass was said at Redstone, a plaque has been placed in the Historic Church of St. Peter, Brownsville, commemorating the Mass of July 1, 1754. When the fine hundred-year-old edifice was restored in 1936, a stained glass window was installed picturing this historic sacrifice. The late Reverend Martin J. Brennan, pastor, in a booklet which he published on the occasion of the restoration, discussed various theories as to the identity of the chaplain who celebrated this Mass.[51] The only information given concerning him is the statement of J.C.B. that "this man was a Recollect who had come with Captain [François] de Villiers from Fort Chartres. This large and vigorous person had served in the cavalry in France, becoming a monk after the death of the young woman he intended to marry."[52]

The chaplain at Fort Chartres at the time was Father Gagnon, but he was a secular priest. Father Baron, of course, did not come from Ft. Chartres. Father Anheuser, as we have seen, was probably either at Chautauqua or in Canada at the time. In a letter to Father Brennan, Pierre-Georges Roy, Quebec archivist, inclines to the belief that the celebrant was Father Luc Collet (name before

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[47] A biography of François de Villiers is given in Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire général du Canada*, 2 vols., Ottawa, 1931, II, 798.

[48] S. Stevens, D. Kent, and E. Woods, eds., *Travels in New France by J. C. B.*, Harrisburg, 1941. The identity of the soldier J. C. B. is unknown.

[49] *Ibid.*, 60.

[50] Quoted by Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire*, II, 796. Le Jeune and Parkman both credit this diary to Louis rather than François. Since it was evidently the diary of the commanding officer, it is possible the J. C. B. has some of his facts garbled concerning the role of François.

[51] *The Historic Church of Saint Peter*, 1936, 14.

[52] *Travels in New France*, 60, note.

entering the Recollect order—Léonard Philibert), who was ordained at Quebec February 24, 1753, at the age of thirty-seven and immediately sent to the Ohio River territory as chaplain.[53] It is fairly evident that he was not at that time sent to Le Boeuf or Presqu'Isle, for Fathers Anheuser and Baron were sufficient for those posts. It therefore is quite possible that he was assigned to Fort Chartres on the Mississippi. There was a detachment of French soldiers there at the time.[54] If Collet came up from Fort Chartres he probably did not return there, for to the record of an interment at Ft. Duquesne July 30, 1755, he signs his name as chaplain of Presqu'Isle and French Creek and says he acts with the permission of Father Baron, who also affixes his signature. This was just three weeks after Braddock's defeat, so we may conclude that Father Collet on that occasion came down from the north with reinforcements.

An apparent disqualification of Father Collet as the celebrant of July 1 is Father Lambing's statement that the Collet brothers, Charles and Luc, were believed to be natives of Canada, whereas J.C.B.'s monk had been a French cavalry officer.[55] Perhaps Luc's ordination at Quebec is taken as proof of Canadian birth, but this is offset by Tanguay's statement that Charles Collet was obliged by the English to *return* to France. Tanguay likewise reports that Father Luc was taken prisoner while serving as chaplain in 1759 and conducted to England, being released in the following year to the Recollects of France.[56] His ordination age of thirty-seven would have given ample time for a previous military career. A possible previous connection with Ft. Chartres is indicated by his later residence there from May, 1761, until his death in 1765.

Following the surrender of Washington at Ft. Necessity, his Indian allies abandoned their villages on the Ohio. However, Shingas, a Delaware chief at Sawcunk, at the mouth of the Beaver River, had gone over to the French in February. Many other Delawares and Shawnee took sides with the French and returned to Logstown, which the French rebuilt.

One of the most valuable sources on the history of this exciting period is the *Journal* of De Léry for 1754-1755.[57] It is particularly interesting to us, for it reveals a second visit of Father de Bonné-

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53 *The Historic Church of Saint Peter*, 14.

54 Hanna, *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 156, reports an unsuccessful attempt by Ft. Chartres troops in 1753 to ascend the Ohio to Ft. Le Boeuf.

55 *Historical Researches*, II (1886), 89 f.

56 *Répertoire du clergé canadien*, 115.

57 This *Journal* covers the period from March 7, 1754, to April 7, 1755. During most of this period De Léry was at Chautauqua Lake in charge of a detachment and at Detroit as second in command to Du Muys.

camps to Pennsylvania, along with the secular Forget du Verger, who was being sent to take charge of the Illinois missions. De Léry, anxious for an opportunity to get into action on the Ohio, was instead appointed to head one of several detachments charged with the rather complicated duty of transporting supplies to the Pennsylvania forts, improving roads and fortifications, and finally transporting supplies as far west as Detroit and Michillimackinac. De Léry and Father de Bonnécamps were the scientific observers on the expedition, particularly making a detailed study of the southern shoreline of Lake Erie, marked "inconnu" on Father de Bonnécamps' map of 1749.

On April 22 De Léry left Quebec commanding a detachment of 120 militiamen in eight boats. "M. Forget du Verger, priest of the Seminary of Foreign Missions," he writes, "embarked with me. He was on his way to the Illinois missions where he was going this year. He acted as chaplain along the way as far as Montreal." De Léry left Montreal on May 2. At Lachine he took charge of a brigade of twenty-four soldiers, a sergeant, sixty militiamen, twelve bark canoes of eight men each, and 360 pieces of freight divided among the canoes, provisions for the nearly starved garrisons of Western Pennsylvania. At about the same time similar brigades embarked under the leadership of Montigny and Péan. We do not know with which brigade De Bonnécamps and Du Verger were associated, but they must have been in one of the parties, for De Léry lists them along with the officers at Chautauqua Lake as of June 30.

On May 19 Péan, who had overtaken De Léry, handed the latter three letters from Madame de Léry. Throughout the journal there are references to letters sent and received between the two, despite the almost overwhelming vicissitudes of mail service. On May 20, as the French neared Ft. Oswego they held their guns in readiness. They passed in front of the enemy fortress with flags flying and drums beating, upon which the English ran up their own colors. On the twenty-third as they neared the end of Lake Ontario their gun salute was returned by French-held Ft. Niagara in a display of fireworks. On June 9 they arrived at Chautauqua, where De Léry was occupied chiefly with supplies and carrying out many of the duties of Péan, who was ill most of the time.[58]

[58] De Léry tried to obtain Péan's recall to Canada, but the intendant, Bigot, seems to have had personal reasons for keeping him far from home. See *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, 92. Corruption among officers and officials was common; among the few leaders commended by Montcalm and Bougainville were De Léry and Repentigny.

When it came time to send his men to Presqu'Isle on July 14, De Léry states that "M. Forget du Verger, priest, remained to serve as chaplain to twenty invalids, whom I was to send off the next day." The following day the sick men were taken to Presqu'Isle, and Father du Verger followed in a canoe.

Very early in the morning of July 30 a party of 285 men under Péan, St. Martin, De Léry, and St. Ours set out for Detroit in canoes equipped with sails. We know very little about the activities of the priests except that Father de Bonnécamps took a bearing of 41 deg. 24 min. 54 sec. at Sandusky, which had once been a French trading post. De Léry's notebook contains a sketch of the bay and shoreline here, showing both his own and the priest's routes. Rigauville and Father de Bonnécamps separated from the group at Sandusky and did not arrive at Detroit until August 7, one day following the expedition. Here on August 13, at a conference with several Indian tribes, no fewer than six priests were present: Fathers Bocquet and Bonaventure, Recollects; Father du Verger; and three Jesuits, including Father du Jaunay of Michillimackinac and either Father Potier or Father de Salleneuve, of the Detroit-Sandusky mission. Fathers du Jaunay and Bonaventure were about to leave for Montreal, which suggests the possibility of several of the western priests' having stopped at Presqu'Isle in Western Pennsylvania on their way to and from their missions between 1754 and 1759.

On August 16 Péan with about five hundred troops doubtless including Father de Bonnécamps as chaplain, began the return journey to Montreal by way of Michilimackinac and the Ottawa River. Thus Father de Bonnécamps in two trips spent nearly a year on the inland waterways of the New World. Early in September Father du Verger left for his future home among the Ottawas, taking the route that led by way of St. Joseph. De Léry remained at the fort during the winter to put it in order and to erect a stockade.

Word having come of an impending attack on Ft. Duquesne, accompanied by a request from Contrecoeur that he come and put that fort too in a state of defense, De Léry left Detroit March 15 by land, accompaied by two Iroquois, one of whom was from the Lake of Two Mountains. Ice in Lake Erie forced them to take the Conshohocken trail across Ohio. On Easter Sunday De Léry reached Conshohocken, where he saw the graves of the 120 Hurons who had died there in one summer while taking refuge during their revolt against the French. Only two cabins of their village were left, one of which belonged to Caughnawaga Indians who were accustomed to hunt through this region. On April 5 he "came upon

the Belle Rivière which I had not seen for sixteen years, when I surveyed it while going to the Chicachats in 1739."[59]

At Duquesne De Léry barely had time to put the fort in readiness before the approach of a large English force under Braddock and Washington July 9, 1755. The hero of the encounter with the English at Turtle Creek, only seven miles from the fort, was Daniel Liénard de Beaujeu, a descendant of the Crusaders, who marched at the head of seventy-two regular soldiers, 146 Canadians, and about six hundred Indians of many tribes, including the famous Pontiac.[60] Beaujeu fell at the third volley, his forehead pierced with a bullet. The consequent rallying of French forces by Dumas, followed by the rout of the English, is too well known to call for elaboration here. Father Baron's entry of Beaujeu's interment indicates that he was prepared to meet death:

> In the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, on the ninth of July, was killed in the battle fought with the English, and the same day as above, Mr. Liénard Daniel, *Escuyer*, Sieur de Beaujeu, Captain in the Infantry, Commander of Ft. Duquesne and of the army, who was aged about forty-five years, having been at confession and performed his devotions the same day. His remains were interred on the twelfth of the same month, in the cemetery of Ft. Duquesne under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin on the Beautiful River, and this with the customary ceremonies by us, Recollect priest, the undersigned chaplain of the King at the above-mentioned fort. In testimony whereof we have signed:
>
> Father Denys Baron, P.R.,
> Chaplain.[61]

Only four other interments of men killed or fatally wounded in this battle are recorded in the *Register*.

The Duquesne *Register* reflects something of the motley group which surrounded the fort and were subjects of Father Baron's (and later Father Virot's) priestly ministrations. Villages of Indians were crowded close about the fort for protection and supplies, as

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[59] He reached the Ohio after crossing the Little Beaver, which he calls "*La Rivière au Portrait.*" See note 21.

[60] Among the Indians were some from Caughnawaga, St. Francis, and Lorette. J.-P.-A. Maurault, in *Histoire des Abénakis depuis 1606 jusqu'à nos jours*, Quebec, 1866, 440, says about two hundred Abnaki participated.

[61] Dedication to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin is referred to by Bishop O'Connor in his remarks about the diocesan synod of June, 1844: "It would appear that dedication was accepted by the Blessed Virgin as at the first synod of the new diocese of Pittsburgh, the new diocese was placed under the protection of the Holy Virgin under the title of the Assumption, although no one was aware at the time of the previous dedication under the same title." *Historical Researches*, 1 (1884), 118.

The chapel seems not to have been incorporated into the blockhouse, but probably was located in a second fortified building that stood a few rods away.

they were at Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf.[62] Several French traders lived there with their families, along with indentured Irish servants used in transporting goods, who had run off from their English masters and joined the Indians. Evidently Father Baron kept a watchful eye on English prisoners brought back from the frontiers, baptizing several English children when they were in danger of death. The French continually tried to buy the English prisoners from the Indians to save them from possible ill treatment, but the Indians usually insisted on their right to retain them, putting them through the gauntlet, on rare occasions burning them at the stake, more often adopting them into their tribes.[63]

Father Baron bestowed his own name "Denys" on a twelve-year-old Indian boy whom he baptized; he gave the feminine form "Denise" to a Delaware Indian girl who begged earnestly for this sacrament two days before her death and to a three-day-old baby whose mother had been taken prisoner by the Delawares and afterward turned over to Commander Dumas. Among the baptisms was that of a little boy, John Turner, whom Lambing identifies as one of Pittsburgh's early residents.[64] The oldest person baptized was a great Iroquois chief, Christiguay, aged about ninety-five, who asked to be received into the Church during a dangerous illness. The eagerness of Father Baron for the welfare of these prisoners is shown by the fact that he baptized two babies on the very day of their birth. On Christmas Day, 1756, he baptized two small children of English prisoners held by the Delawares.

No marriages are recorded in the *Register,* but J.C.B. recounts the romantic tale of a marriage which Father Baron performed.[65]

Little biographical data is available concerning Father Baron. Tanguay, who lists him as Charles Baron, says he was ordained September 23, 1741; served at St. Maurice in 1744, at l'Ile-aux-Coudres et les Ēboulements, in 1750, where he signed "Denis" to his transactions. In the register of Ft. St. Frédéric, on Lake Champlain, he is listed as having died on November 6, 1758.[66]

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[62] A deposition of William Johnston, a prisoner of the French, describes the settlement at Presqu'Isle and mentions the presence of a priest. *Pennsylvania Archives,* 3: 13.

[63] Both the good and bad side of the character of the Indians who were active about Ft. Duquesne is to be found in W. Darlington, ed., *An Account of the remarkable occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith, during his captivity with the Indians, in the years 1755, '56, '57, '58 & '59,* Cincinnati, 1870.

[64] *Historical Researches,* 1 (1885): 153, note 11, III (1886): 38 f.

[65] *Travels in New France,* 70 f.

[66] *Répertoire du clergé canadien,* 103.

Western Pennsylvania's chief memory of the French and Indian war is of the numerous parties of French and Indians who continually harassed the frontier settlements, burning buildings, scalping victims, carrying off prisoners. It was but a repetition of the pattern adopted by both French and English from the beginning of their rivalry in the New World. There is evidence that the French commanders wished to accomplish their purpose with as little bloodshed as possible, but as Downes points out, they could not have prevented the depredations of the Delawares and Shawnee.[67] As a matter of fact, the French position in Western Pennsylvania was very weak. Their only hope for military success lay in keeping the English on the defensive and far from their decaying forts. After the burning of the Delaware village and French storehouse at Kittaning in September of 1756 by John Armstrong, the Delawares of that town retired to Ft. Machault and Kuskuskis for protection and redoubled their energies against the frontiers. They were joined at Venango by the Mingoes (Iroquois) of the region below the forks. Dumas and his successor De Ligneris wisely took measures to set up the Delawares and Shawnee of Kuskuskis, Sawcunk, and Logstown on a more dependable basis. They built thirty log houses with stone chimneys for them at Logstown, thirty-eight at Sawcunk, a mile below the mouth of the Beaver River, and made plans for more at the Kuskuskis villages.[68]

In April of 1757 the Catawba and Cherokee, southern allies of the English, struck thrice, once at Logstown and twice at Ft. Duquesne. In this manner was the stage set for the entrance of Western Pennsylvania's first missionary, the Jesuit Father, Claude Virot.

In the previous month De Ligneris, probably recognizing the necessity of an establishment similar to Caughnawaga to match forces with the southern Indians, had sent a request to Canada for a missionary to the Delawares, along with some domiciled Abnaki to lead them. The Abnaki were chosen rather than Iroquois because they spoke nearly the same language as the Delawares and were regarded by them as brothers rather than "uncles," a term of obsequious respect reluctantly accorded the Iroquois. It is probable that this request was carried to the governor by an embassy of eight

[67] R. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio*, Pittsburgh, 1940, 81. Instructions taken from captured prisoners show that the French officers counselled leaders of war parties to follow "honor and humanity."

[68] Most of the information concerning houses for the Indians comes from English agents who visited there during and after the war.

or ten Delaware chiefs and as many Shawnee who called on their "father Onontio" at that time.[69]

There was no difficulty in finding a missionary willing to undertake such a task. The Jesuits of St. Francis, above Montreal, were almost too willing to transport their whole mission to the Ohio, if we may believe an entry in Montcalm's *Journal* under date of January 5, 1757:

> The Marquis de Vaudreuil has had well-founded reports concerning the Abnaki of St. Francis and Bécancour, that the Jesuit missionaries, made fanatical and unbalanced by religious principles, wished to make them leave their villages and transport them to the banks of the Ohio, under pretext of withdrawing them from commerce with the whites and intoxicants; and the Jesuits determined to refuse the sacraments to those who were opposed to this transmigration. The general has disapproved this conduct of the Jesuits as very much contrary to the interests of the colony.[70]

Rochemonteix supplies the background for this policy of the Jesuits:

> . . . Father Virot . . . was a missionary at Sault St. Louis before going to St. Francis. There, he found the Abnaki, until then so attached to their faith, for some time quite fallen away from their first fervor: contact with the French and strong drink had diverted the young people from their duties. The elders lamented over their misconduct, but they had no control over them. Then it was that some Abnaki, desirous of ending their days in peace and the practice of their religious duties, resolved to quit St. Francis . . . a dozen Abnaki, commended and encouraged by Father Virot, sought refuge among the Delawares, near the Ohio. Father Virot followed them there . . .[71]

Elsewhere the same writer tells us:

> With a zeal not always assisted by physical strength, he demanded and obtained from the superior-general, Father de Saint-Pé, authorization to go and found a new mission among the tribe of Delawares, on the banks of the Ohio . . .[72]

Father Claude-François-Louis Virot (first name sometimes given as Joseph) was born at Besançon on February 15, 1721, and entered the novitiate on October 10, 1738. After two years of philosophy

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[69] De Ligneris' request is mentioned in Henri-Raymond Casgrain, ed., *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm durant ses campagnes en Canada de 1756 à 1759*, Quebec, 1895, 192. Closeness of the Abnaki-Delaware tie is mentioned by the Moravian, Heckewelder, in *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who once Inhabited Pennsylvania, . . .* Philadelphia, 1876, xli. He points out that the word *Abnaki* is but a corruption of *Lenápe*, the Indian term for Delaware stock.

[70] *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, 146.

[71] Rochemonteix II, 143, note.

[72] *Ibid.*, 185.

in the Jesuit college at Besançon, he taught three years at Saint-Flour; the remainder of the apprentice teaching period preceding theology he spent teaching humanities at Billom (1743–1744), rhetoric at Rodez (1744–1745), and humanities at Auch (1745–1746). Then he was forced to retire for a year to Toulouse in order to mend his shattered health. In 1747 he went to Dôle, where he studied theology for four years. He left for Quebec in 1752 and was assigned to the Sault St. Louis mission, where he probably worked under the direction of Fathers de Gonnor, Gordan, and finally, in 1756, Father de Neuville.[73] He was "among the Abnaki" in 1756, therefore doubtless at St. Francis.[74] While there he drew up an Abnaki course of instruction. It is preserved in the archives of the St. Francis mission at Pierreville, Canada.[75]

The next bit of information concerning Father Virot's project is that given by a fellow-worker, Father Roubaud, in a long letter of October 21, 1757, detailing the massacre of Ft. William Henry. He begins thus:

> I set out on the twelfth of July from St. Francis—the principal village of the Abnaki mission—to go to Montreal; the purpose of my journey was simply to bring to Monsieur the Marquis de Vaudreuil a deputation of twenty Abnaki appointed to accompany Father Virot, who has gone to try to found a new mission among the Delawares of Ohio, or the Beautiful River. The share that I was allowed to have in that glorious enterprise, the events which caused it, and the difficulties that it was necessary to overcome, may furnish hereafter interesting material for another letter. But I must wait until manifest blessings shall have crowned the efforts which we made to carry the knowledge of faith to tribes that appear inclined to receive it.[76]

It is not unlikely that the earlier group of twelve mentioned

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[73] *Ibid.*, 47, note, 50, note, 185, note 2. *JR*, 71: 178 gives 1722 rather than 1721 as the year of his birth, and 1750 rather than 1752 for his arrival in Canada.

[74] *JR*, 70: 85. Virot probably was working at St. Francis under Sault St. Louis superiors as early as 1754. T. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 4 vols., London, 1908–1917, II, 353, and note 3.

[75] Rochemonteix, II, 185, n. 2. Sommervogel, in his *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols., Brussels, 1898, VIII, 835, confusedly ascribes the manuscript to Pierre-Étienne Virot. Maurault in his *Histoire des Abénakis*, 501, says that when the St. Francis church was destroyed by Rogers in 1759, all of its valuable manuscripts were burned. "Of all the precious objects, they were able to preserve only an Abnaki vocabulary and a strongly bound notebook containing a large number of hymns, motets, psalms, and songs, for they were in the hands of Father Virot when the fire occurred. This vocabulary contains a large number of scholarly notes which have been most useful to us for the history of the Abnaki." Father Virot being already dead at the time of Rogers' expedition it is not clear just how the manuscript found its way back to St. Francis.

[76] *JR*, 70: 91.

by Rochemonteix (if they were distinct from the band of twenty) went to the Ohio with the returning embassy of Delaware and Shawnee chiefs. Roubaud's statement about his part "in that glorious enterprise" has been interpreted by some writers as indicating that he joined Father Virot on the Ohio, but the short time which elapsed between the massacre of August 9 and the letter of October 21 does not seem to allow for his having taken such a long journey.[77]

The next question is, where did Father Virot set up his mission cross, and what success did he have? The answer is given in a succinct passage from the diary of David Zeisberger, Moravian missionary, for April 23, 1770:

> In the forenoon came to Sakunk (i. e. the place of an outlet) at the mouth of the Big Beaver. No one at present lives at this old Indian station. Here during the occupation of Ft. Duquesne by the French there resided a French priest, who labored to convert the Delawares to Romanism, but he was driven away by Pakanke, chief of the Wolf tribe of that nation. Rode three miles up the creek to the Falls, and encamped.[78]

The best description we have of Sawcunk and its environment is given by Thomas Hutchins, who passed that way in 1764, only six years after Virot's residence there. After describing the rich valleys and wooded hills that surrounded the spot, eight miles below Logstown and one mile below the confluence of the Beaver with the Ohio, he mentions the "large town, on a high steep bank, built by the French, of square logs, with stone chimneys, for some of the Shawnee, Delaware, and Mingo tribes, who abandoned it in the year 1758, when the French deserted Ft. Duquesne. Ft. McIntosh is situated on this spot [today's Beaver, Pa.]."[79]

At the time of Father Virot's arrival there were about one hundred warriors—mostly Delaware—at Sawcunk under the leadership

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[77] C. Dahlinger has Roubaud joining Virot on the Ohio in "The Moravians and Their Missions among the Indians of the Ohio Valley," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 3 (1920), 47.

That the Abnaki brought by Roubaud actually accompanied Virot is inferred from an account of the arrival of a "Jesuit missionary" with some Abnaki at Niagara in August. M. Pouchot, *Memoir upon the Late War in North America between the French and English, 1755–60*, translated and edited by Franklin B. Hough, 2 vols., Roxbury, Mass., 1866, 92 f. At a council with Delawares from Tioga (Upper Susquehanna), the Abnaki urged their friends to receive the missionary among them, and "the Jesuit made them a speech on the excellence of religion." In response, one of the Delawares gave a garbled account of the Redemption and Trinity. The Delawares promised a reply in the spring, but a later delegation to Niagara was turned aside by the suspicious Iroquois.

[78] Quoted by J. Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*, 2 vols., New York, 1904, I, 418, note 3.

[79] *The Wilderness Trail*, II, 202.

of the brother chiefs, King Beaver and Shingas. Many of the English and Indian prisoners taken in war were lodged there temporarily before removal to Kuskuskis or to the Muskingum. Croghan's trading post stood there, probably available for the use of Father Virot as a residence and chapel until he could get established.

Sawcunk was strategically located to take care of all the Delawares of the region. One hundred warriors with their families occupied Logstown. Ascending the Beaver River to the forks, Father Virot would have found the four villages of Kuskuskis, head of which was that of Chief Pakanke on the Mahoning branch of the Beaver, on the south side across the river from present-day Edinburg.[80] Still farther north was a Wyandot village of thirty warriors at Shenango (marked Shaningo's Town on Lewis Evans' map of 1755).

Father Virot's task was gigantic and important. From the point of view of the French, it was to make dependable allies of the Indians by Christianizing them and settling them in compounds after the manner of the domiciled tribes on the St. Lawrence, thus assuring control of the gateway to the West and ultimate victory for French forces. From Father Virot's point of view it was to find a haven for his Abnaki far from white civilization and to give the gospel to the Delawares. He could hardly have picked a worse time or place for his purpose. The importance that Governor-General Vaudreuil attached to his work is clearly revealed in the following letter to the minister of the colonies:

> I had the honor, My Lord, to report the departure of the Jesuit to establish a mission among the tribes of the Belle Rivière. He has reached there, but at the beginning he did not have the success that his zeal made him desire. He has, nevertheless, baptized a few children and begun to instill the sentiments of Christianity in several savages. This is a work that requires time and patience. I am also exhorting this missionary not to be discouraged and to have as much perseverance as is necessary for an object of such importance.[81]

We know almost nothing of Father Virot's experiences on his

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[80] The "Old Kuskuskis" appears to have been centered at the mouth of the Neshannock, site of modern New Castle. J. Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols., Boston, 1884–1889, V, 497, reproduces a rather inaccurate map showing "Kuskuskies," "Shingoes Town," and other Indian settlements, from *Father Abraham's Almanac*, 1761. Several maps of the region covered by this article are to be found in J. Adams, ed., *Atlas of American History*, New York, 1943.

[81] S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania*, Harrisburg, 1941, 110.

mission. From statements made by Croghan and the Moravian missionary, Heckewelder, it appears that cruelties were not practised on the prisoners that were brought to Sawcunk, and we may presume that Father Virot's presence there was a contributory factor in this regard.[82] We do not know just when Father Virot was forced to evacuate by the ill-tempered, mercurial Pakanke. The remote cause of his action is, however, quite evident. The French position at Ft. Duquesne grew steadily weaker while the English colonies were growing in unity and strength. A large expedition under General Forbes was organized to cross Pennsylvania and attack the French at the forks of the Ohio. The Delawares, many of whom were half-hearted in support of the French from the first, began to treat with English agents, including Post at Wyoming in June of 1758. Getting rid of Father Virot would have been a first step toward withdrawing from their alliance with the French.

When Post went to the Ohio Indians in August he was at first received in a very hostile manner at Sawcunk, but finally won the friendship of the village, including the conjurer Killbuck.[83] He does not mention Father Virot, leaving us to conclude he must have retired to Ft. Duquesne before this time. He was probably at the fort when Grant was repulsed at Ligonier, the last bold gesture by the French.

Greatly outumbered by Forbes' advancing army, their alliance with the Indians weakened by the diplomacy of Post and Croghan, the French burned their fort on November 24 and set off in three detachments, one going down the river to the lower Shawnee town, another up the Allegheny, and the third over land to Presqu'Isle. With the last-named group Father Virot must have marched, according to a legend handed down and recorded by Lambing:

> . . . It is related that as the French retired from Ft. Duquesne when the English obtained possession of it, in November, 1758, their chaplain passed up the Beaver valley on his way to the French posts in the northwestern part of the state. While doing so, he stopped at Mount Jackson in the present Lawrence County, about forty miles north-west of Pittsburgh and four from the state line, to visit an Irish Catholic family of the name of O'Brien. Having remained a short time and baptized three members of

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[82] R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, 32 vols., Cleveland, 1904–1907, "Journals of Weiser, Croghan, Post, and Morris," 1: 212, note 49.

[83] Post's *Journal*, August 27, *ibid.*, 1: 210 f.

the family, he passed further north-east into the present Butler County, where he visited a French family of the name of Crafiere.[84]

The Indian spy, Captain Bull, repored priests at both Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf in March of 1759.[85] One of these may have been Father Collet; the other was Father Virot. We do not know at which post Father Virot was stationed, but he certainly was at Venango early in July when De Ligneris assembled a force of a thousand French and an equal number of Indians from posts as far west as the Mississippi, for a surprise attack on Ft. Duquesne, at that time rebuilt and named Ft. Pitt. Some Abnaki were in the party, probably those who remained faithful to Father Virot on his mission. Some others had returned to Canada, as we know from Montcalm: "Some Abnaki of the Beautiful River, who had been with Father Virot to preach the Gospel to the Delawares, returned. They were bored and come to wage war here."[86]

At the very moment when De Ligneris in a council was intent on rousing the ardor of the Delawares for the rejuvenated French cause, a messenger interrupted the meeting with news that Niagara was under attack by a large English force and needed help.

De Ligneris rallied his forces and raced north to the rescue. The French advance was careless. Johnston's English troops lay in wait on the portage road down Lewistown Heights, below the Falls, and quickly disposed of the French reinforcements. Father Virot was seized by the Iroquois and "cut to pieces" supposedly somewhere north of Youngstown village, within a few miles of the cataract. He was the last Jesuit to be put to death in the United States.[87]

Circumstances brought about the failure of Father Virot's dream of an Ohio mission, but the Moravians succeeded where he failed, proving the Jesuits' contention that this people was ready for the Gospel. Some of Father Virot's former charges were among the

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[84] A. A. Lambing, *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Pittsburg and Allegheny from Its Establishment to the Present Time*, New York, 1880, 454.

[85] *Colonial Records*, 7: 311, 312.

[86] *Journal du Marquis de Montcalm*, 369.

[87] The death of Father Virot is reported in a letter of Father Watrin in *JR*, 70: 251. The death of a priest in the siege is confirmed in intelligence of August 12, 1759, enclosed in an August 13 letter of Colonel Hugh Mercer written at Ft. Pitt to Governor Denny, in *Colonial Records*, 8: 395. The regular chaplain of the Niagara fort was captured, not killed. The site of his death is discussed by F. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, 2 vols., New York, 1917, II, 321.

eighty-six Christian Indians who died with prayers and hymns in the slaughter at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, by Colonel Williamson's troops in 1782. One of the victims was Glikkikan, Pakanke's chief adviser, who had disputed against the "Jesuits" at Venango and the "Romish priests in Canada," according to the Moravian chronicles.[88]

It only remains for us to determine the effect of the English victory and suppression of the Society of Jesus in France in 1763 on the men who had labored in Western Pennsylvania. De la Bretonnière, Baron, Dépéret, and Virot were dead; Anheuser was to die in 1762. Of Father Vernet nothing is known. Fathers Collet and du Verger were laboring in the Illinois country. Father de Bonnécamps lived the longest of all, until 1790, and his last days were tragic. When his order was suppressed he was secularized. After filling a few unimportant chaplaincies, including an unauthorized ministration to refugees on the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in 1770 he declared conformity with the four propositions of the Assembly of the Clergy of France favoring the liberty of the Gallican church and went to live with a friend, De Tronjoly, admiral of the French navy, in Brittany.[89]

Forget du Verger, who was the Kaskaskia parish priest, when the Jesuits were driven out in 1763, sold the mission property without authorization and retired down the Mississippi with his evicted friends. However, Father Watrin, one of the refugees, writes very charitably of his company on the ocean voyage to France.[90]

In May, 1761, Father Luc Collet went to the parish of Ste Anne de Ft. Chartres, on the Mississippi, where he labored with Father Hippolyte in the care of the people of the fort and the nearby chapels, including Prairie du Rocher. He died at his post on September 10, 1765.[91] Father Meurin, the only Jesuit who had obtained

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[88] E. De Schweinitz mentions the Venango incident in *The Life and Times of David Zeisberger*, Philadelphia, 1870, 355. G. Loskiel alludes to Glikkikan's disputes in Canada in *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, 3 parts, London, 1794, part 1, 46.

[89] Rochemonteix, II, 76 n. 1; 156, n. 2; 164 f., 168, quotes extracts from letters written by Father de Bonnécamps relative to the progress and strategy of the war.

[90] Watrin to —, September 3, 1764, *JR*, 70: 293.

[91] This is the date given by J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols., Akron, 1886–1892, II, 113, n. L. Laurent, *Québec et l'Église aux États-Unis sous Mgr Briand et Mgr Plessis*, Washington, D. C., 1945, 73, quoting the *Nécrologe* of the province of St. Joseph of the Order of Friars Minor of Canada, 124, says Father Luc died suddenly May 30, 1765, at Fort de Chartres.

permission to return to the Illinois country, writing to Bishop Briand in 1768 states that because of the danger to the Ft. Chartres cemetery from the Mississippi floods, he has caused the remains of "Monsieur Gagnon and Reverend Father Luc, a Recollect, worthy missionaries," to be removed to Prairie du Rocher, about five miles eastward.[92]

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[92] Meurin to Briand, June 11, 1768, in *JR*, 71: 37, 45, 47 gives information on some of the activities of Father du Verger and finally, p. 39, on the translation of Father Luc's remains. On both du Verger and Collet, see also Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 102, 112 f, 118.

German Missionary Writers in Paraguay*

V. Martin Dobrizhoffer

Alfred Métraux, long a scholar in the ethnology of South America, has on recent occasions testified to the value of the writtings of Father Martin Dobrizhoffer. In an address at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December, 1943, he has summarized the contribution of the Austrian Jesuit.[1] He terms the *Historia de Abiponibus* the best known of five great books on the anthropology of the Chaco.[2] "During the nineteenth century it was one of the most often quoted sources in the field of the new science of anthropology and sociology. Furthermore, it remains one of the few excellent monographs on any South American tribe."[3] Writing at a later date in the *Handbook of South American Indians* Dr. Métraux speaks of Dobrizhoffer's work as "one of the most famous monographs ever written on any South American tribe," and as a masterpiece.[4]

Statements of this kind are not lacking in proof. Métraux judges that Dobrizhoffer is fairly accurate as regards the geography and history of the missions. It might be added that in matters pertaining to significant dates of his own life in the mission Dobrizhoffer is exceptionally careless, for he rarely gives an exact day and year, but in matters of historical import he puts down dates. Moreover, he cities many authorities, though he does not give the exact page in their works. In his introduction Dobrizhoffer states his

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* Through an unfortunate oversight in the preceding number of MID–AMERICA the name of the authoress of this continued article was given as Sister Angela Blankenburg instead of Sister Mary Angela Blankenburg. Editor.

[1] Alfred Métraux, "The Contribution of the Jesuits to the Exploration and Anthropology of South America," MID–AMERICA XXVI (July 1944), 184–186.

[2] Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus, equestri, bellecosaque Paraquariae natione, . . .* 3 volumes, Vienna, 1784. German translation: A. Kreil, *Geschichte der Abiponer, einer berittenen und kriegerischen Nation in Paraguay, . . .* 3 volumes, Wien, 1784. English translation: Sara Coleridge, *An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay,* 3 volumes, London, 1822.

[3] Métraux, *loc. cit.,* 185.

[4] Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, *Handbook of South American Indians,* Julian H. Steward, Editor, Volume I, Part 2, "Ethnography of the Chaco," by Alfred Métraux, 206–207.

intention to conform to the rules for historical accuracy, and we find him generously giving credit to each and all of those whose works were helpful to him. Hence, as an historian Dobrizhoffer is better than one might expect for his time.

As an ethnographer, according to Métraux, "Dobrizhoffer proceeds to speak of the Abipón much as any ethnographer might do today." "His statements . . . are precise and fairly complete . . . invaluable when he deals with religion and social institutions . . . social groups . . . social psychology . . . collective neurosis."[5] It would seem then that the Abipón missionary was quite ahead of his time in the use of the procedures in ethnology. In fact, Father Furlong-Cardiff cites seven authoritative spokesmen for ethnology who say openly or in effect that Dobrizhoffer must be considered a pioneer or a founder of the science of comparative ethnology.[6]

Great as the *Historia* was in the eyes of the historians and ethnologists it apparently caught the fancy of a far wider reading public. Nor was this principally because of the attractive sub-title of the work which advertised strange places, peoples, and things in such a way as to appeal to a variety of readers. For the times in which it was written it may well have had an eye-arresting effect equivalent to the jacket or the announcement of a modern book. Thus translated it would read: "Story of the Abipónes, nation of fierce, mounted tribesmen of Paraguay, a place filled with barbarous tribes, cities, vast rivers, wild beasts, amphibians, serpents no end, fish, birds, trees, plants, and many other products, written by a missionary who has spent eighteen years in the land." Any curious mortal could find something here to interest himself, while on the sober side the budding naturalists, anthropologists, botanists, zoologists, medicos, apiarists, aviarists, and others could expect to find some observations suitable for use in their awakening sciences. Once into the book it becomes fascinating and may be read even as an adventure. To many it was a spiritual appeal and a graphic narrative of the trials of a missionary among pagans.

Not the least of the reasons for its popularity were the German and English translations. Concerning the style one feels that the

[5] Métraux, "Contribution of the Jesuits," *loc. cit.*, 185.

[6] Guillermo Furlong, S. J., *Entre los Abipones del Chaco*, Buenos Aires, 1938, 128. This remarkable work brings together what each of eight Jesuit writers of Chaco missionary fame has said about the Abipón tribes, land, habits, customs, animal, vegetable, and mineral life; besides citing Dobrizhoffer's *Historia*, Furlong publishes several letters written by him. Prior to this work a study along similar lines but pertaining to the *Historia* alone had been made, namely, Professor Dr. Walter von Hauff's *Pater Dobrizhoffer, S.J. Auf verlorenem Posten bei den Abiponen*, Leipzig, 1928.

German edition is probably the most accurate reflection of the author's personality. The German was being done even while Dobrizhoffer was preparing the final manuscript for the press.[7] Since it appeared in the same year as the Latin original it would seem that the translator enjoyed the personal acquaintance and even supervision of the author. A delightful sense of humor and a constant optimism break through even in the darkest, most discouraging situations. Readers unfamiliar with south-German "Gemütlichkeit" and its quaint expressions will hardly appreciate the full charm and simplicity of the narrative. Readers of the English translation of Sara Coleridge are quite aware of the readability of this beautifully executed work.

More significant and well worth a longer study are the questions why and how did the *Historia* come to be written. Father Dobrizhoffer gives the motives simply in his preface. Being frequently interrogated concerning America, he wishes to relieve others of the trouble of inquiry and himself of from that of answering questions, and secondly, he writes because he has been advised to do so by people of distinction. But definitely other reasons may be deduced from the work itself, over and above the general motive which any spiritual man and zealous missionary might have to inspire others by giving an account of his stewardship. To approximate an answer to the questions certain facts must be stated before speculation begins.

When Father Dobrizhoffer was put aboard the frigate *La Esmeralda* toward the end of March, 1768, he found himself reunited with the four outstanding missionary writers of the Chaco: Fathers José Brigniel, José Sánchez Labrador, José Jolis, and Florian Paucke, to say nothing of others.[8] Now these men were together on the boat for months, practically imprisoned and with nothing to do but compare notes. They sailed from Montevideo on May 16, arrived at Cádiz at the end of August, and then some were sent to Holland and others to Italy. The German-speaking fathers remained in the Franciscan convent at the port of Santa Maria until March 19, 1769. Then Dobizhoffer with some whose names are not known but who had returned to Spain on various boats, departed for Italy by way of the Mediterranean, and from there were sent overland northward to Austria. It was only in August of 1769 that Dobrizhoffer arrived in Vienna. Hence, for more than a year

[7] Furlong, 127. Vicente Sierra, *Los Jesuitas Germanos en Hispano-América*, Buenos Aires, 1944, 304.
[8] Furlong, 180.

and a half of the return trip he was with sorrowing missionaries and well able to gather plentiful details for his future work from authorities. The great puzzle is that he does not mention his great friend Paucke. It would be a worthwhile task to compare descriptions, drawings, and maps in the works of these two great writers to find out if there was collaboration between them or if they may have come to some agreement about their respective fields of writing. Thus far it would seem that the two writers worked independently.

At the time of Dobrizhoffer's arrival in Vienna the Jesuits had been suppressed nationally in Portugal, 1759, in France, 1762, and in Spain, 1767. Now the anti-clerical ministries of these countries were bringing pressure upon the papacy to suppress the Order universally. Maria Theresa was in no mood to listen to the suggestions and urgings of the foreign ministries that she also do away with the Society of Jesus. As long as Pope Clement XIII was alive there was no compromise on the part of the papacy with the foreign ministers. But Clement XIII died on February 2, 1769, and Clement XIV became Pope in September. From this time until the papal edict suppressing the Jesuits appeared in August, 1773, the Empress Maria Theresa maintained her stand against abolishing them. During these years the Empress and her son Joseph knew of Dobrizhoffer and his work in America and were accustomed to hear from him his accounts of the Abipón.[9]

Father Furlong-Cardiff tells us that Dobrizhoffer lived in Vienna in the Professed House of the Jesuits and that from the very first moments of his arrival he began to work long and arduously in the ministry, preaching in St. Theresa's Church and acting as director of the congregation of working boys. We can well imagine the avidity with which boys and young men would listen to stories of Indians, and we can well surmise how these would become polished with repetition and more specific with each question asked. Thus, to the court interest in his accounts was added that of youth.

As a court preacher and speaker of note with a fund of knowledge about the new world he could not but attract the attention of the scientists and naturalists of the University of Vienna. Certainly these asked many questions that required thoughtful and detailed answers. Such would be the notable people to whom he refers in his preface as frequently asking him about America. Not the least of these would be Prince Joseph who later became Joseph II. Joseph

[9] *Ibid.*, 181.

apparently had read Rousseau and became noted as a follower of the French nature-lover. The general program of the Jesuits as described in the *Historia* might have seemed to Rousseau's followers to have been an application of his philosophy, for the missionaries were accustomed to gather the natives into colonies and allow them to develop in their natural habitat. To illustrate the effects of trying to make the Indians live in the confined area of a civilized place, a city, Dobrizhoffer describes an exceedingly pathetic incident. This is at once a powerful argument for the cause of the naturalists and that of the Jesuits. It is as follows in the English version.[10]

Dobrizhoffer and a company of forty Indians were on a scouting expedition in the far eastern area of present Paraguay seeking savages in the woods. They discovered a footprint and traced it

> to a little dwelling, where an old woman with her son and daughter, youth and maiden of twenty and fifteen years of age, had lived for many years. Being asked where other Indians were to be found, the mother replied that no mortal besides herself and her two children survived in these woods; that all the rest . . . had died long ago of small pox . . . The son observed, "You may credit my mother in her assertion without scruple; for I myself have traversed these wood far and near in search of a wife, but could never meet with a single human being." Nature had taught the young savage that it was not lawful to marry his sister.

Dobrizhoffer then exhorts them to come to his town. The mother was willing but she had three tame boars, pets, which she feared would perish in the sun. His response to this is a gem.

> Pray be no longer anxious on this account, replied I; depend upon it that I shall treat these dear little animals with due kindness. When the sun is hot we will find shade wherever we are. Lakes, rivers, or marshes will be always at hand to cool your favourites.

Thereupon the three agreed to go with him.

Dobrizhoffer then describes what they gave up for their new life. It is as clever a presentation as one could wish. Their abode may be taken either as a poor hovel or as a romantic woodland home. Their hut of palm branches, their drinking water muddy, but around them fruits, antas, fawns, rabbits, birds, honey, tobacco (which the mother smoked and the son chewed), cold tea, scanty furniture, and scanty dress. Given a cloth to cover her more, the girl put it on her head to protect her from the sun, and the boy could not climb a tree or move rapidly wearing Dobrizhoffer's anti-gnat headcloth as a dress. "In such penury I found them, experiencing the rigours of ancient anchorites, without discontent, vexation, or disease."

[10] *An Account of the Abipones*, I, 88–96

With the art of a novelist Dobrizhoffer makes the reader a friend of his three wood Indians.

> The mother and son were tall and well-looking, but the daughter had so fair and elegant a countenance that a poet would have taken her for one of the nymphs or dryads, and any European might safely call her beautiful. She united a becoming cheerfulness with great courtesy, and did not seem at all alarmed at our arrival, but rather enlivened. She laughed heartily at *our* Guarany, and we, on the other hand, at *hers* . . . The youth had never seen a female except his mother and sister, nor any male but his father. The girl had seen no woman but her mother nor any man but her brother, her father having been torn to pieces by a tiger before she was born . . . Not to go unattended, she commonly had a little parrot on her shoulder, and a small monkey on her arm, unterrified by the tigers that haunt that neighborhood. The new proselytes were quickly clothed in the town, and served with the daily allowance of food before the rest. I also took care that they should take frequent excursions to the neighboring woods, to enjoy the shade and pleasant freshness of the trees, to which they had been accustomed. For we found by experience, that savages removed to towns often waste away . . .
>
> The same was the fate of the mother, son, and daughter in our town.

In detail, then, Dobrizhoffer describes how they were each stricken after about three weeks in the town. The gradual lowering of their spirits, the wasted strength, and the incurable consumption which followed. The mother went first, after languishing some months. "The girl, who had entered the town full of health and beauty, soon lost all resemblance to herself. Enfeebled, withering by degrees like a flower, her bones hardly holding together, she at length followed her mother to the grave, and, if I be not much deceived, to heaven." The boy also was attacked but recovered and then was stricken with measles. Winning out over this he was in perfect health of body but not so in mind. He had visions and dreams of his mother and sister, who appeared to him each night telling him to be baptized. Dobrizhoffer was ready to shrug off the matter as of no importance, until the boy explained the dream. He promptly baptized the boy, obeying some inner impulse, at ten o'clock one morning. "On the evening of the same day, without a symptom of disease or apoplexy, he quietly expired." To this Dobrizhoffer was ready to attest under oath. Sad though he was to lose his wood Indians, he felt that they were in happiness of Heaven. The episode proved beneficial to the Spaniards also, since they went into the former home of the three Indians and found there in the course of three years many hundred thousand pounds of "the herb of Paraguay, from which they derived an amazing profit."

In this single, concrete instance Dobrizhoffer was able to illustrate the entire mission program of the Jesuits and to give with telling effect the main thesis of the *Historia.* Simply, it is this. He, and the other Jesuits, went to the wild lands to seek souls—not wealth. They found savages and brought them to civilized life and to the ultimate goal of Heaven. The adventurers and traders reaped the material profits in areas which otherwise would have been closed to them. Implied is the thought that Spain in suppressing the missionaries had cheated many tribesmen of Heaven and had deprived herself of valuable products which could not now be obtained in lands once more savage. Proofs for every part of the general trend of the *Historia* run through the pages.

Definitely, such accounts as Dobrizhoffer gave publicly during his first three years "back home" and his zealous work had much to do with the feeling of sympathy in Austria toward the Jesuits. When the papal suppression came Maria Theresa reluctantly allowed the papal brief to be published. The schools and properties of the fathers were confiscated. However, unlike the procedure in other countries, these did not get into the hands of the courtiers, or crown, or individuals, or even of the papacy. They were used to establish pensions for the suppressed fathers and brothers and for education. It is quite clear that the Empress Theresa could use such a book as Dobrizhoffer might write to support her position and as a plea to the succeeding popes for the reestablishment of the Order. It would seem then that Dobrizhoffer had a number of people in Vienna interested in seeing his words in print. Moreover, the fact that a professor was put to the task of translating it into the German vernacular even before it was published would indicate that it was wanted likewise for popular consumption throughout the Germanies.

When the papal suppression of the Society took place at the instigation of the Portuguese, French, and Spanish courts, the number of accusations against the Jesuits had grown bulky. These resolved themselves into the general accusation that the Jesuits had established Indian empires in the Americas and that these empires with their Indian militia were for trade purposes. This accusation could readily have political implications in the Germanies, since a number of the so-called empire builders in New Spain, Peru, and Paraguay were German-speaking missionaries and vassals of Austria. With smuggling going on in American and European ports and accusations being hurled around Europe by each court against the others, the Austrian court might logically feel that it was being

accused through the German-speaking missionaries of backing the contraband practices for its own ultimate gain. Therefore, while Dobrizhoffer was demolishing the idea that the Jesuits had any empire in Paraguay for their own profit, he was incidentally demolishing the implication that Austria was involved.

Dobrizhoffer is only a dozen pages out in his first volume when he unlimbers his pen against ignorant and malicious writers who term the thirty Guaraní towns "the kingdom of the Jesuits, a republic rebellious to the Catholic King."[11] For thirty pages in no uncertain terms he lists the falsehoods and the calumniators. It is very significant to note that he begins with the fact:

> That the Jesuit missionaries have ever left Europe at the expense of the Catholic King, for the purpose of founding new colonies, and preserving the old—that they are supported by an annual stipend from the royal purse—that the Guaranis pay yearly tribute to the King—that a century before as many thousands as were appointed, fought in the royal camps without any stipend, whenever they were called upon by the royal governor . . .[12]

If we look carefully at the meaning of this we can see that Dobrizhoffer emphasizes the point: the Jesuits acted under royal patronange and control and therefore had no rebellious group of colonies; but beyond this there is the implication: The Jesuits were not emissaries of any other national group in their activities, and hence not Austrians in their work, but were Spanish subjects. He goes on to prove the loyalty of the Jesuits and Guaraní to the Spanish cause, exploding the favorite myth of "King Nicolás" whom the fathers were supposed to have installed over the reductions.

With the instinct of a philosopher Dobrizhoffer defines or describes all of the terms of his general thesis. He explains what Paraguay actually is; the several political and religious jurisdictions; the cities; the Guaraní mission lands; the Chaco; then he gives the products of the lands, and in detail, so much so that any astute trader or merchant or investor could tell the economic value and financial possibilities of the whole. He estimates, too, the transportation conditions, stating advantages and disadvantages. In fine, the first volumes gives almost a complete picture of the nature of the "empire" of Paraguay. The second volume presents the American Indians in general and the Abipón in particular, with constant comparisons to tribal similarities and dissimilarities. The third volume clinches the whole by presenting the first-hand account of his own experiences among the Abipón, which was then and is still con-

[11] *Ibid.*, I, 13.
[12] *Ibid.*, I, 13–14.

sidered authoritative. To one looking for deeper meanings to his writing, no doubt remains about the part played by the Jesuits in preserving the cities around the Chaco by the herding of the Abipón horsemen into containing colonies.

Another item comes easily to mind at the mention of an independent republic or empire in America. During the very years in which Dobrizhoffer was writing his *Historia*, 1777 to 1783, our thirteen colonies were revolting from England. European nations were watching this eventful struggle and were more or less concerned about the likelihood of similar revolutions in their own colonies. Spain might well be worried, since minor insurrections had already occurred and furthermore there had been public tumults because of the removals of the Jesuits in 1767–1768.[13] Under such circumstances it required forceful writing to clear the name of the Jesuits of complicity and to remove suspicions against them and fears that their followers might organize a countermove. Dobrizhoffer does excellently in allaying all fears, although it must be admitted that by the time his books appeared the members of the Society were thoroughly scattered. Many of the 2,260 exiled from the Americas were dead or in jails; the majority of the estimated 717,000 mission Indians whom they had under their protection, were dispersed; the thousands of others in the Americas, relatives, friends, and students, remained ineffectively resentful of the Spanish and Portuguese unjust act of suppression.[14] It is little wonder then that books of the Dobrizhoffer type written by Jesuits though designed to exculpate the Order were at the same time an indictment of Spain and its "reformed" colonial system, and it is little wonder that colonists lost respect for the authority and judgment of the Spanish administration.

Among the calumnies refuted here and there throughout Dobrizhoffer's volumes was that of cowardice. To do away with this the missionary had to cite not only the numerous instances of bravery on the part of his companions and predecessors but also to recite instances of the perils into which he went at the risk of his life. In describing these he leaves himself open to the charge of self-glorification. After reading what he had to put up with in his years among the Abipón it is rather amusing to read his claim to be "enrolled in this class of brave men" who had shed their blood

[13] Charles E. Chapman, *Colonial Hispanic America*, New York, 1933, 193, 215–220, especially the list of insurrections, 217, and the revolt of Tupac Amarú which was in progress in 1780 and 1781.

[14] *Ibid.*, 193.

for the love of God and neighbor. He lists four pages of heroic men who come to his memory and at the very end mentions:

> Father Martin Dobrizhoffer, whilst defending his own house and chapel against six hundred savages in the town of Rosary, had his right arm pierced with a barbed arrow, the muscle of his middle finger hurt, and one rib wounded by a savage Toba, at four o'clock in the morning on the 2d of August in the year 1765.[15]

This may, of course, have been inserted by an admiring editor, but his vivid description of the attack in which he came by his wounds and his own activity in the battle will remain in the memory of the reader as a fine climax to the story of the Abipón.[16] When Father Brigniel wrote to the Governor that the "preservation of the colony was, under God, to be attributed to my patience, vigilance, and industry," Dobrizhoffer apologies for talking about his own valor:

> I should have forborn to mention this honest encomium, were it not to refute the calumnies of certain individuals, who, never having performed any praiseworthy actions themselves, are impelled by envy or malice secretly to detract from the good deeds of others, when those who might convict them of falsehood are far away.[17]

Despite all the probable reasons for the masterpiece which Dobrizhoffer composed, the fact remains that it is basically the overflowing of a true missionary heart. It is a document revealing a love for a benighted people from whom he was forever separated and a calling which he could not answer. Robert Southey in his poem "A Tale of Paraguay," written in 1826, shows best the effect of Dobrizhoffer's *Historia* and at the same time expresses well the feelings of the man during the years he spent in civilized Vienna on the banks of the Danube thinking of the untutored Indians of the Paraná. "And thus when exiled from the dear loved scene, in proud Vienna he beguiled the pain of sad remembrance." Unless we misjudge the tenor of the book completely, in the final analysis it is the expression of the missionary heart longing to win souls to Christianity and knowing that many souls of the Chaco were being lost again to the paganism from which they were wrenched. Dobrizhoffer ended his days in the hospital of the Brothers of Mercy in Vienna, July 17, 1791.*

SISTER MARY ANGELA BLANKENBURG

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[15] *An Account of the Abipones*, III, 410, 415.
[16] *Ibid.*, III, Chapters XLIII and XLIV, 362–382.
[17] *Ibid.*, 383.
* A biographical sketch of Dobrizhoffer will appear in the July MID-AMERICA. Editor.

Notes and Comments

With the historians of the country we sorrow over the passing of Louis Pelzer. The genial Editor of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, after nearly forty years of active life as a scholar, teacher, and editor, died on June 28, 1946, at the age of sixty-seven. Tributes to his memory, which we echo wholeheartedly, appear in the *Review* of September, 1946, over the names of William C. Binkley, Ralph E. Himstead, Herbert A. Kellar, William J. Petersen, Elmer Ellis, and Philip D. Jordan. These words of his friends and colleagues are fine summaries of a life of devotion to learning and they are an invitation to the members of the historical groups to imitate a notable character.

The Mississippi Valley Hisorical Association has chosen a capable successor to Mr. Pelzer in the office of Managing Editor. Professor Wendell H. Stephenson of the Graduate School of Tulane University has the good wishes of all members of the Association in his new task, particularly of those burdened with editorial cares.

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Dr. Harlow Lindley has retired from the editorship of *The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* and James H. Rodabaugh is now acting editor. Dr. George N. Fuller, leader for twenty-five years in promoting the study and reading of Michigan's history, has closed his career as *Editor of Michigan History Magazine* and his chair is now occupied by Lewis Beeson.

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There has long been need of an anchor for scholars in history to prevent them from drifting with each new current of thought begun by the most recent novelty in world events. Historians should attempt to present the past as it actually was, as accurately as possible. The tendency has been to color the past by new approaches, rather than to elaborate the past by new findings. Thus, we have had economic approaches, technological approaches, psychological and other ideological approaches. The rounded views of man's development is frequently lost sight of by researchers seeking only certain facts to substantiate the newer approach. The techniques of the historian are in evidence but the principles of sound his-

torical scholarship are missing. This failure results from a general lack of emphasis in our universities on the fundamental course of study for all historical trainees—the course in methodology. As far as we know there is in this country no professor whose specialty and teaching field is methodology.

For many years of his long life in historical studies the late Father Gilbert J. Garraghan devoted his time to a study of historical methods. He prepared from his findings a manuscript designed for the use of teachers and students in the much neglected field. This was put in the hands of Father Jean Delanglez for editing toward publication. The work has now been published as *A Guide to Historical Method*, by Gilbert G. Garraghan, S.J., edited by Jean Delanglez, S.J., Fordham University Press, New York, 1946. It is indeed a sound study and will go far toward supplying the needed anchor for the drifting historical scholarship. Besides having the fruits of the long labors of the author we have the valuable comments of the editor, sometimes in disagreement or protest or amplification.

* * * *

An interesting brochure, *The Maya Correlation Problem*, by Maud Worcester Makemson, appears as Number 5 of the *Publications of the Vassar College Observatory*, Poughkeepsie, New York, 1946. The author originally intended to make a study of the present status of the dispute about the dates indicated on the Mayan codex. She intended to apply astronomical tests to all correlations between Mayan and Christian chronology. She emerged from her study with the discovery of a new correlation, a new hypothesis which "'makes all Maya dates fall 246 days earlier than in Spinden's correlation, thus extending the Maya time-scale backward some 260 years from that of the Goodman-Thompson equation." Such a study ranks high among praiseworthy enterprises.

* * * *

The Great Chicago Fire, Described in Seven Letters by Men and Women Who Experienced its Horrors, and Now Published in Commemoration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Catastrophe, with an Introduction and Notes by Paul M. Angle, published by the Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, 1946, is an excellent example of editing, printing, and art work.

Book Review

Le Métis Canadien. Son rôle dans l'histoire des provinces de l'Ouest. By Marcel Giraud. Paris: Institut d'Ethologie, 1945. Pp. lvi, 1296. Eight plates and three maps.

The opening words of the preface define the scope of the book which is to study the evolution of the Franco-Indian half-breed group, the part it has played in the history of the Canadian "Northwest," and the causes that led to its present status, both economical and social, in the western provinces of Canada. The author also deals with the Anglo-Indian half-breeds because of the scarcity of documents concerning the Franco-Indians during the early period. The "West" in this book comprises the three Prairie Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The Valley of the Mackenzie River and the Hudson Bay basin are included because these two geographical areas are the boundaries of the territory in which the Franco-Indian half-breeds arose, grew, and declined, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century to the insurrection of 1885.

The book is divided into six parts, which are in turn subdivided into chapters; the fifth part, however, which takes nearly one-third of the work, is divided into three books of three, ten, and five chapters, respectively.

After calling attention to the different modes of life prevailing among the tribes of the Plains, of the forest, and the Barren Grounds in the high latitudes, differences which were largely determined by the physical environment, the author underlines a trait that was common to all: nomadism which bred a strong aversion to sedentary life. The conceptions of life and the psychology of the Indians had to be treated in great detail, because many of the characteristic traits of the Indians which reappear in the half-breeds help to explain the evolution of the group.

The second part treats of the penetration of the Whites into the Prairie Provinces. There were two lines of invasion, one, exclusively French Canadian from the south, from Lake Superior, the other, predominently Anglo-Saxon from the shores of Hudson Bay. The energy of the "peddlers" as the Canadians were called by their English rivals, and above all the fact that the Canadians understood the Indians incomparably better than the English traders, counterbalanced the advantage which the latter had over their competitors from the geographical position of their posts on Hudson Bay and from the lower price and higher quality of the merchandise which they sold to the Indians.

When the Canadians began to penetrate into the territory west of Lake Superior, all their antecedents predisposed them to a closer union with the

Indians dwelling in these parts, and assimilation followed almost immediately. This explains why the southern center was, at the beginning, much more influential than the Anglo-Indian group in the north. There is very little information with regard to the time of the first appearance of the half-breed group in the north and none at all about the date of its origin in the south.

The foundation of sedentary colonies in the western plains made the Franco-Indian group aware of its strength and was the main cause of the awakening among them of national consciousness. This national consciousness was played upon by the "North-Westers" in their struggle against their rivals: the Hudson's Bay Company. The main point emphasized in their propaganda among the half-breeds was that the colonists of Assiniboia were intruders and usurpers. The North-Westers' success is measured by the fact that after a few years the colonists of Assiniboia were dispersed. After examining the bases of the half-breeds' nationalism, M. Giraud concludes that it had neither solid foundations nor any principle of cohesion. The unrest caused by the propaganda subsided after the arrival of Catholic missionaries who exposed and counteracted the machinations of the North-Westers.

The first two books of part five are devoted to the history of the half-breeds in the Red River Valley; the third book deals with the half-breeds of the West among whom intense nationalism reappeared. The sixth part is entitled "the disintegration of the half-breed group," and centers around Louis Riel. One chapter is devoted to the "Provisional Government" of 1870, another to the decadence of the Red River half-breed group, and a third to the exodus to the West. The effects of the disappearance of the buffalo on those half-breeds who migrated is the subject of the fourth chapter, and the fifth deals with the revolt of 1885, which had disastrous consequences for the Franco-Indians. The last chapter of the sixth part treats of the present-day status of the half-breeds. A distinction is made between those who remained in the settlement of the Red River Valley and those half-breeds who are scattered in western Manitoba, in Saskatchewan and in Alberta. The condition of the latter is incomparably worse from every point of view.

This brief summary, necessitated by the limits of a review, gives a very inadequate idea of the contents of the book, of its wealth of information and of its absorbing interest. The book is almost wholly based on first-hand materials. The Archives Nationales of France, the Dominion Archives, the Public Record Office, the archives of the archbishoprics of Saint Boniface and of Edmonton, but especially the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company have been investigated and put to contribution. That the enormous documentation has been thoroughly mastered is evident from

the footnotes, in which every important statement in the text is supported by the testimony of contemporary actors or direct observers. No one writing on this phase of the history of Canada can afford to ignore this book, and although no historical work can be said to be definitive, it is unlikely that the subsequent writers will add much to our knowledge of the history of the half-breeds in the Prairie Provinces. All those interested in questions of ethnology will find them thoroughly treated by M. Giraud, and his penetrating observations on the psychology of the Franco-Indian half-breeds apply equally well to other groups of mixed races.

The date of publication requires a special remark. While in this country paper could only be found for novels of dubious merit and ephemeral literature, the University of Paris found ways and means of publishing in occupied territory this forty-fourth volume of its "Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institu d'Ethonologie," a volume of more than 1,300 pages on a highly specialized subject in far away Canada. Could this be an indication of the relative scale of values obtaining in France and in the United States?

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Dobrizhoffer: Abipón Missionary

Early Days

Whoever undertakes the task of writing a definitive life of Father Martin Dobrizhoffer will enjoy an enormously rich experience and one quite as interesting as Dr. Herbert E. Bolton found while tracing every footstep of Father Kino in his *Rim of Christendom.* The life span of Dobrizhoffer, 1718 to 1791, covered great turning points of history. He lived during the trade-mad years, when wars for empires and their products were taking place in the colonies of England, France, Spain, and Portugal. He was in Europe for the beginning and the end of the critical struggles; he was in Paraguay for one phase of the warfare. He was a contemporary of such epochal events as the Diplomatic Revolution, the Seven Years War, the American Revolution, the French Revolution. He was one of the many Jesuit missionaries expelled from the Americas by the royal edicts of the kings of Portugal and Spain, but, unlike the vast majority of his fellows, he was the exception who found an abode in Europe more cheerful than the prisons or graves that were theirs.

The various writers who have attempted biographical sketches of Dobrizhoffer have had to content themselves with fragmentary evidence concerning his early life. They agree that he died in his "native land," Austria, but they disagree, incongruously enough, about the place of his birth. Sierra, for instance, while stating that Austria was his fatherland, has him born in Freiberg, which is a town in Saxony.[1] Others say his birthplace was Freiburg without specifying whether this means the city in Baden, the town in Silesia,

[1] Vincente D. Sierra, *Los Jesuítas Germanos en la conquista espiritual de Hispano-America,* Buenos Aires, 1944, 392.

Prussia, or the village in Switzerland. Father Paucke, a bosom companion of his on the long sea journeys to Paraguay and back, shows no thought of being much help to future historians in this respect, for he refers to Dobrizhoffer first as "a priest of the Bavarian Province," next as "a German Jesuit coming from the Bavarian Province," then as "a vassal of the House of Austria," and finally as "another Jesuit of the Austrian Province."[2] Since the Society of Jesus had no Province of Bavaria, Paucke may have been thinking of the political unit known as Bavaria, but more likely he was using very general terminology in view of the common German tongue spoken in these places. Huonder and Sommervogel appear reasonably certain that Graz, the seat of learning and the capital of the Province of Styria in Austria, was the scene of Martin's birth; Furlong having two good authorities to back him up says emphatically that Friedberg "in old Bohemia" is the place.[3] And Friedberg we except, though we incline to Friedberg in Styria, sixty-five miles south of Vienna and forty miles northeast of Graz, rather than an unlocatable Friedberg in Bohemia. As to the date of the event, Furlong and Sierra choose September 7, 1718, while Huonder gives the same date as most probable, and Sommervogel has 1717.[4]

For the first eighteen years of Dobrizhoffer's life there are no data about which biographers can dispute. Where he lived, where he attended school, his home surroundings and general environment, his relatives and his friends, his reactions to the wars and political affairs which were tending to make Austria prominent by the time of the accession of Maria Theresa in 1740, are unwritten pages in his life. The authorities agree that he entered the Society of Jesus on October 19, 1736, in the novitiate at Trencsin (Trentschin, Trencsen), about seventy-five miles northeast of Vienna, just inside

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[2] Edmundo Wernicke, tr. *Florian Paucke, S.J., Hacia Allá y Para Acá*, Tucumán-Buenos Aires, 1943, I, 11, 47, 49, 126. Since this is the only complete edition of Paucke's *Hin und Her*, the future references will be to Wernicke rather than to the Frast, Kobler, or Bringmann editions; for these see MID-AMERICA, XXIX (January 1947), 61–63.

[3] Guillermo Furlong Cárdiff, S.J., *Entre los Abipones del Chaco, Segun Noticias de los Misioneros Jesuitas Martin Dobrizhoffer, Domingo Muriel, José Brigniel, Joaquín Camaño, José Jolis, Pedro Juan Andreu, José Cardiel y Vicente Olcina*, Buenos Aires, 1938, 129. The authorities are Stoeger and Uriarte, both based on documents in the Jesuit archives of Austria. Anton Huonder, S.J., *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, St. Louis, 1899, 142. Carlos Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels, 1890, III, 108.

[4] Furlong, Huonder, Sommervogel, *loc. cit.*, respectively; Sierra, 392, agrees on the birthday, but states that he died at the age of 74; from the dates used it seems quite clear that Dobrizhoffer was approaching his seventy-third anniversary on July 17, 1791, when he died.

Hungary. But there is nothing about the how and wherefore of his becoming a Jesuit.

From the training procedure of the Jesuits we may assume that he passed his next four years, that is, until 1740, as a novice, and as a junior scholastic engaged in classical studies. From Trencsin he moved to the University of Vienna, where the Jesuits of the time directed the faculties of philosophy and theology. His course in philosophy and physical sciences would have been completed in three years, or, in 1743, and would normally have been followed by a term as regent. Very probably he taught in one of the Jesuit secondary schools for the period from 1743 to 1745.

We may infer that he did well in his studies from an incidental remark which he makes in his history. In speaking of a comet observed in Paraguay he recalls how in 1742 at the University of Vienna he defended publicly the thesis: "Comets neither augur anything evil nor foretell any good things to come."[5] To be chosen, and very probably in his second year of studies, for a public defence indicates talent, especially in Vienna and Graz where astronomy and astrology were ever major interests.

The next date in the meager records of his early life is 1745. It is important, too, in the history ofAustria as the year in which Maria Theresa married Francis I. Then, probably in October, Dobrizhoffer embarked upon his course of theology in the Jesuit University of Graz, some ninety miles southwest of Vienna. Shortly afterward a lull in the European war tempests set in, and Dobrizhoffer, like his friend to be, Paucke, in the north, completed three years of preparation for his ordination to the priesthood. Paucke was ordained at Brunn, Moravia, one hundred and sixty miles north of Graz, on January 16, 1748, but we do not know exactly on what days Dobrizhoffer received Holy Orders in that year.[6] Probably his time was advanced in view of his intention to be a missionary, just as was Paucke's.

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[5] Martin Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus, equestri, bellicosaque Paraquariae natione, . . .* 3 volumes, Vienna, 1784, II, 95. German translation: A. Kreil, *Geschichte der Abiponer, einer berittenen und kriegerischen Nation in Paraguay, . . .* 3 volumes, Vienna, 1784. English translation: Sara Coleridge, *An Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay,* 3 Volumes, London, 1822. For an estimate of these see Sister Mary Angela Blankenburg, "German Missionary Writers in Paraguay," MID-AMERICA XXIX (April, 1947), 122–131. The English translation is excellent and since it is more available will be used in following citations; in case of omissions of passages of the Latin or of possible disputable meanings the original Latin pages will be cited. The passage quoted above is not in the English version.

[6] Wernicke, *Florian Paucke,* I, 9.

Journey to Lisbon

During the course of this time one of the outstanding Jesuits of Paraguay, Father Ladislaus Orosz, had been appointed procurator of the missions and had returned to Europe in quest of missionaries for his field.[7] Among those volunteering to go back with him were Paucke and Dobrizhoffer. What a pair! Both were filled with a zest to be out among the pagans. Both were young enough to reveal spontaneously their immediate reactions to any and all episodes. Both were keen observers with a quick sense of humor, even to a point of coloring their remarks to bring out the amusing side of an event or the more harrowing aspects of some scene. Alert to every situation they made the most of each incident, and it is difficult to say which was the better story teller. And, moreover, they seem to fall into that category of favored souls to whom "something is always happening." They were so well grounded in deep spiritual principles that they could laugh or play their violins in the face of physical peril and annoying hardships.

Where the twain met up is not certain. Paucke left Olmutz in late January or early February of 1748 and made his way south to Leghorn in Tuscany, where he arrived on February 11. He probably passed through Graz before crosing the Alps and there Dobrizhoffer may have joined him. They were definitely together on February 18 when they and five other Jesuits sailed out of Leghorn on an English boat bound westward through the Mediterranean Sea.[8] This did not treat them well. On it they were becalmed and they were storm-tossed. To help the morale of the passengers says Paucke, "I and a priest from the Bavarian province took our violins wishing to play a lively tune but our hearts were beating too fast a time and we very

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[7] *Ibid.*, I, 51; Huonder, 147; Sierra, 398.

[8] The personnel of the mission band is hard to determine at this point. Furlong, 130, says that Dobrizhoffer went overland from Graz to Livorno (Leghorn), and from there made his voyage to Lisbon in company with Father Nicolas Plantich. Furlong does not mention Paucke. Paucke in Wernicke, I, 93, says Plantich was with him on the Atlantic voyage. Sierra, 203, says that Orosz brought over, in 1848, Dobrizhoffer, Plantich, Julian Knogler, José Klein, Juan Kinzel, José Unger, Blasius Eichinger, Francisco Serdahell, and José Gilge. He omits Paucke and cites no authority. In checking these names in their alphabetical order in both Huonder and Sierra we find that Kinzel, Unger, Eichinger, and Serdahell (Szerdaheljic, Serdaheln), are questionable. Dobrizhoffer does not mention any of the names. The party leaving Leghorn then seems to be Paucke, Dobrizhoffer, Plantich (Austrian), Knogler (Bavarian), Klein (Bohemian), Gilge (Bohemian), and another Jesuit priest, to fill out the seven fathers mentioned by Paucke in Wernicke, I, 9. Four Franciscans were also among the thirty passengers.

soon forgot the violins."[9] When this storm quieted down after twelve hours, they had another calm and then another storm, during which nobody slept for two days. Later came a pirate in his smaller craft, but when he came close enough to see the seven disheveled padres and their grimy beards, he decided he was outmanned and rapidly hoisted sail. The ship was blown back and forth between the coast of Spain and coast of Africa for days, trying to put in at the port of Málaga. When the captain finally gave up hope of reaching the port and set out to pass through the Strait of Gibraltar the wind grew contrary and blew them into Málaga on March 15, the twenty-sixth day of their voyage![10]

Paucke continued to write the log of the journey for the remainder of the year. He and Dobrizhoffer and the other Jesuits were welcomed at the Jesuit college in Málaga and remained there for a week. On March 22 they once more boarded the cranky boat to brave the perverse winds. Between Ceuta and Gibraltar the craft began to go north and south, as though hesitating about sailing into the Atlantic. After several days of such unprogressive activity a cloudburst caused a change in the mind of the captain, and at four o'clock in the morning of March 29 the missionaries found themselves back in Málaga! This ended their interest in that particular boat. They decided to go by land to Portugal.

The seven started out from Málaga on March 31, five mounted on horses and two in a cart with the baggage. None of the seven Jesuits could speak either Spanish or Portuguese, and hence they were quite happy to fall in with a secular cleric who was going their way. They then could talk in Latin and he, though they had some misgivings about his standing since he did not say the office or Mass, could interpret for them. Thus they crossed lower Spain to Cádiz observing all the novel Spanish customs, dress, architecture, roads, and food. No one need suppose that the food was good; nor was it. It and the hostelries grew progressively worse, as the group moved to Cádiz. The meals en route were singled out for specific condemnation as the fathers moved westward to Puerto de Santa Maria and beyond to Portugal's boundaries. They and their horses were

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[9] Wernicke, I, 11, note, identifies the violinist as Dobrizhoffer, hence by following Paucke's account we are following Dobrizhoffer to America. Later remarks of Paucke's indicate that Martin was an entertainer, but it is always possible to say that the musician might have been Father Knogler, a Bavarian. Dobrizhoffer, I, 347, casually mentions his nine months on the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, referring to his two trips on each.

[10] Wernicke, I, 20.

ferried across the Guadalquivir River at San Lucar. Apparently not many notes were taken by Paucke during this portion of the journey, for dates and places are missing and there is confusion regarding the order in which towns were visited. He did recall the hostility of the people of Miranda and Almeida to the band, which they considered to be made up of Spaniards.

In the town of Almeida on the lower bank of the Tagus south of Lisbon the travelers finally obtained a breakfast worth mentioning. It consisted of "soup, three eggs apiece, a platter of fish," and some wine.[11] They supposed this would cost less than in Germany and they were watching carefully their ever slendering purse. Their hearts sank when they heard that the bill was twenty-three pesos. As they had no language in which to argue, they were forced to pay in silence. Then, they promptly turned their attention to Lisbon. To get there they must cross the Tagus in a rocking boat over choppy waters. Although the trip required only half an hour, their guide, the cleric, became seasick. Landing they made their way through crowds of feast-day merrymakers to the Jesuit college where they were welcomed by the waiting procurator, Father Orosz. The date was April 12.[12]

Dobrizhoffer and Paucke had plenty of time to see Lisbon, because the fleet for Brazil had already sailed. It was not until September 17 that they were able to get away. On one of their first sight-seeing tours of the city they met the captain of the cranky boat on which they had cruised the Mediterranean. He had left it in Málaga and had come in another ship to Lisbon. He informed them that their trunks and what-nots for the mission were being held by Spanish port officials. The vessel of ill omen had now become a source of international trouble. Only after discussions by the consular corps and agents of diplomacy and the intercession of the Queen of Portugal did they get a release for their goods.

The five months stay in Lisbon gave the Paraguay missionaries an opportunity to learn Spanish. Strangely enough, while Father Paucke describes many of the Spanish and Portuguese scenes and people, he does not give a list of names of the individuals in his band, nor even the name of Dobrizhoffer. On one occasion he "and another Jesuit" of his own age, meaning Dobrizhoffer, went on an

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11 *Ibid.*, I, 40. Paucke's descriptions of food and meals indicate that these Jesuits fared far better on their journey than those of the earlier centuries.

12 *Ibid.*, I, 44.

all-day tour of the aqueduct.[13] Either the food purchased from a woman with a basket of eatables or the poor diet already endured for months made Paucke ill with "ulcers" for two weeks, but nothing is said about any sickness overtaking Dobrizhoffer. On other occasions they visited the court where they were kindly welcomed by Queen Anna, who was Austrian by birth, and King John V, founder of the Portuguese Academy of History. The queen was very happy when she heard that "we were vassels of the House of Austria."[14]

Voyage to South America

September came and with it the day of departure for America. The boat to which they were assigned was named *Santa Ana y de las Almas* and was captained by Don José Perreira, a Portuguese "with eyes like a cat."[15] This frigate had room for six fathers, including Dobrizhoffer and Paucke. The other vessel carrying fifty-four Jesuit priests, brothers, and novices, was a large merchantman. These ships were two of a fleet of fifty-three sailing out of the Tagus on September 18, 1748. On the day previous they and their food and baggage had been put on board. Before embarking they kissed the hand of the gracious Queen Anna and received her wishes for a "feliz navegación." In the harbor a colorful scene presented itself. All the ships flew their pennants and flags; music and songs filled the harbor throughout the day and a great happiness filled the hearts of the missionaries as the ships weighed anchor and hoisted sail for the long journey to the New World.[16]

From the time of the departure Paucke kept a log and diary until the last day of the year, mentioning regularly the boat's position in degrees and minutes. In ten days time they had sailed eight hundred miles and were in sight of the Canaries. Equally good time and distance was made during the next ten days, then the wind veered and the frigate moved southeast toward Dakar on the African coast. Calms, squalls and contrary winds began on October 6, and they so impeded progress that from then until the time they reached the

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13 *Ibid.*, I, 49.

14 *Ibid.*, I, 47. Queen Anna was the sister of Emperor Charles VI. She remitted the port duties for the Jesuits, paid for their trip, and recommended them to the captain.

15 *Ibid.*, I, 47, 55; Dobrizhoffer, I, 193, states: "In Portugal, a Brazilian mulatto was hired at a great price by Feliciano Velho, the captain of the ship, because he professed himself well acquainted with the river La Plata, though he was, in reality, extremely ignorant. At the entrance of the river the captain, Joseph Carvalho de Pereira, . . . committed the entire management of the ship to this man." Paucke, Wernicke, I, 82, also speaks of the stupidity of the pilot.

16 *Ibid.*, I, 56–58.

equator November 17, an advance of only thirteen hundred miles had been recorded, an average of thirty miles a day.

During this time a number of incidents occurred of sufficient variety to cause them to run the gamut of emotions. There was the harsh punishment meted out by the captain to one of his slaves that brought forth remonstrance from Paucke, but to no effect.[17] Then the tropical squalls, each lasting about fifteen minutes, forced them into stuffy quarters and endangered the cargo. The several calms brought insufferable heat and a lack of water. They saw the remarkable phenomenon of the phosphorescence in the water and were thereby reminded of the blood of the martyred Ignatius Azevedo and his thirty-nine companions slain on their way to Brazil by the pirate Jacques de Sores. The heat, the food, and thirst brought down the captain and six of the crew, and at one time it was feared that the captain would not survive until morning. One of the crew died and was buried at sea. They felt the joy denied the Ancient Mariner when in their critical need a heavy rain filled the welcoming barrels. On the amusing side Paucke tells a story about one of the Jesuit fathers whom we have no reason to suspect of being Dobrizhoffer. On the night of October 25 when all were in deep slumber this father suddenly leaped out of bed shouting "Fire! Fire!" The others quickly awakened and joined in the cry. This brought forth the serious procurator and superior of the band in his nightgown and the captain and the crew. The nightmare was explained, but the captain administered a severe rebuke to them "for their pusilanimity."[18]

On crossing the equator the customary ceremonies were held. Thereafter the frigate picked up speed, going the next eleven hundred miles in thirteen days, an average of eighty-four miles a day. The Jesuits by this time had organized among themselves a choir and an orchestra, and this with the music of the captain's slaves tended to brighten the long hours. Then some calm weather brought the ship to a standstill and all suffered from the heat. Still, by November 30, they were in the vicinity of the three small rugged islands of Trinidad some five hundred miles off the east coast of Brazil.[19] The greatest perils of the voyage lay before them—the hidden reefs and sand bars. From November 25 the captain had ordered the

[17] *Ibid.*, I, 63.
[18] *Ibid.*, I, 71.
[19] *Ibid.*, I, 79; Paucke gives the position of these as 18 degrees and 20 minutes, whereas they are two degrees beyond that to the south. Several observations of the kind will stand scrutiny at a future time. Another mistake appears, page 73, where he has the ship at the Isle of Palma instead of some thousand miles south of that position.

helm swung so that the ship would move directly southeast toward the tip of Uruguay about nineteen hundred miles away. As it drew closer to the coast of lower Brazil there were several moments of fear that the frigate would be wrecked on the sand bars, and in fact the alertness of the crew proved a salvation for all aboard. Land, the shore of Uruguay, was descried on December 17. And the dangers of the La Plata following the long days at sea evidently had shaken the nerves of the Jesuits, and apparently of one Dobrizhoffer.

The ship was rounding the lower coast of Uruguay and approaching the vicinity of Montevideo. It was within the waters of the great Rio de la Plata. Sounding had to be taken under such circumstances and as the depth grew less and less the danger of running aground was great. It suddenly became acute with a slight veer in the wind. The pilot immediately called out: "Drop the anchor!" The crew was ready for the order and quickly released the anchor. It caught immediately. Brought to a dead halt the frigate shuddered. Whether Father Dobrizhoffer was aware of the cause or not his voice was suddenly ringing out: "The boat is sinking and we will perish!" Then Paucke says: "As well for his frankness and great eloquence he was a favorite of the captain, and thus the captain only reproached him for his apprehension and told him to calm himself."[20] Thus, at the end of a long journey we get some insight into the personality of Dobrizhoffer and we find him well liked by his companions and by the captain with the "eyes like a cat."

Dobrizhoffer's account of the voyage up the Rio de la Plata, written many years later, is somewhat confused.[21] He makes no mention of the episode narrated by Paucke. He agrees that the perils were great. Instead of confessing fright he says that one afternoon at two o'clock he noticed the shallowness of the water off the English Shoal and warned the captain, not the blockhead pilot, of the fact. The captain issued the order to throw over the helm, just in time to avoid the sandbar. He mentions also the sudden casting out of the anchor, and the storm, but his dates are forgotten and so too is the stop at Montevideo, though he does say that a skiff put out from that port to spy upon their ship.

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[20] *Ibid.*, I, 84.

[21] Dobrizhoffer, I, 193–199, compared to the account of Paucke, in Wernicke, I, 82–86, is impressionistic and disorganized. The difference between the two narrations is so marked that we may say Dobrizhoffer did not know of Paucke's log, and certainly Paucke got nothing from Dobrizhoffer's account. Still, they were apparently on the same ship, since they agree on the major incidents, the sandbar episodes, the pilot, the great storm, the two day stop at Colonia, and some blind wandering around the river.

In the evening of December 24 they were safely anchored in the Spanish port of Montevideo, thankful to God for their safety. They were not permitted to land, but a boat from the port laden with foodstuffs pulled alongside. In the moonlight Father Orosz bought from the vendors and sent word by them to the Jesuit rector in the residence in Montevideo of their arrival. The rector in turn sent out more food Christmas morning at six o'clock. After each of the priests had said Mass and after the various exercises of devotion, the missionaries enjoyed what might be termed a first class feast.

It was about fifty leagues, a sail of one hundred and twenty miles up the Rio de la Plata to Colonia do Sacramento, the Portuguese colony just across the river from Buenos Aires and the destination of the Portuguese frigate. Despite its beautiful name this colony, enjoying as it did the fruits of smuggling and contraband trade with British, Dutch and Spanish alike, was long a thorn in the side of the Spanish House of Trade. The missionaries set out toward it on December 26, but soon ran into their first American lightning storm, which caused the captain to haul down the sails and cast out the anchor. They stayed precisely where they were for nearly two days after the storm because of a change in the wind. Then they had to buck the yellow stream slowly. It was not until December 29 that they anchored at Colonia. The ship fired a salute with its cannons and the shore battery replied. The fathers disembarked full of joy and marched to the church where they sang a *Te Deum* in thanksgiving. The ceremony of appearing before the governor followed. Then they were escorted to their residence for a hearty meal. The following day was given over to visitors to the house who expressed happiness over the arrival of the new padres.

The entire voyage from Lisbon to Colonia was about 5,400 miles, if we neglect the veerings to the right or left of the course. The time at sea was one hundred and two days, and hence the average daily advance was fifty-three miles. Ten leagues of water separated them from Buenos Aires.

On a mid-summer day, January 1, 1749, twenty-six priests of various orders crowded themselves into a Spanish bark for the crossing of the river.[22] The provincial and other Jesuits from the college

[22] *Ibid.*, I, 101. What became of the other half of the religious who departed from Lisbon with the fleet, is not specified. Many of the ships were destined for the Portuguese Islands, for Africa, and Brazil, and were not seen once the fleet had left the coasts of Portugal. Furlong, 131, gives the date of arrival in Buenos Aires as the end of January, and says the departure from Lisbon was September 20, instead of September 18 as given by Paucke. However, in his *Entre Los Mocobíes de Santa Fe*, Buenos Aires, 1938, 36, Furlong corrects the arrival date to January 1.

and hundreds of people were on the dock to extend a hearty welcome. The bells of the ten churches in the city rang out as the procession wended its way to the Jesuit church for the chanting of the *Te Deum*. The newcomers were then put up in rooms of the Jesuit college for a day's rest before their presentation to the governor.

Buenos Aires to Córdoba

How long Dobrizhoffer and Paucke remained in the city is not quite clear. At one time Paucke says that they stayed until April 19, at another time he gives "at the end of March," and finally he leaves the impression that they were in Córdoba at the end of March or beginning of April.[23] But during their sojourn they were able to write descriptions of the "largest and most notable city in Paraguay." The gardens, the paved streets, the docks, the large boats, the trade, the weather, the government, the church administrators, the courts, the college and *convictorio,* the fine foods, the music, the people and their customs find their place in the travelogue of Paucke and the history of Dobrizhoffer. Each takes pains to refute the charges brought against the Jesuits revolving around the fictitious "King Nicolás," who was calumniously referred to in Europe as the ruler of the Jesuit empire in Paraguay. What pleased their missionary hearts most, however, was their first sight of some Indians who had come to the city from the northern reductions.[24] What distressed them most were the electrical storms and tornadoes.

Near the city was a farm owned by the Jesuit college, whose products or rentals were used for the support of the institution. On this in due time were gathered ninety-five carts, or covered wagons, and oxen and horses for the journey to Córdoba, whither Fathers Martin and Florian had to go to complete their theological studies and training. Some of these had been brought to this farm by two of the Jesuits of Córdoba. After eight days the two missionaries left the college in the city for this farm, where they aided in preparing for the trip. They had the experiences then which were common to the pioneers of our western plains, preparing food for men and beasts, getting in a water supply, and fortifying the canvas tops to resist spears and arrows in the event of Indian raids. Twelve Franciscans, all Portuguese but one, were mounted and ready to cross the

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[23] Wernicke, I, 106, 121, 145. See also note 25 below.
[24] *Ibid.*, I, 105.

pampas in the caravan to Córdoba, well over four hundred miles inland. The days of their start and arrival are not certain, but they fell in the Argentine autumn, late March and April.[25]

Reactions to all phases of covered wagon transportation across the pampas are fully recorded by Paucke, and, in one instance by Dobrizhoffer. They had great admiration for the Indian *picador,* the tireless fellow on each cart who prodded the plodding oxen with the highly colored pole. They could never become accustomed to the notes of the cornet player, who tooted throughout the night to keep the oxen and apparently everything else awake and moving. Sleeping or sitting in the cart had its drawbacks, especially when the breeze failed, the heat intensified, and the flies swarmed, but in general the ride was considered comfortable. They quickly learned that nothing was to interfere when the drivers and the travelers lay down in the shade of the wagon for the siesta, which lasted an hour "and sometimes more." They gave due notice to the fact that day and night the cavalrymen guarding the caravan were ever on the alert against possible Indian marauders. After they left the Spanish village of Luján, forty miles west of Buenos Aires, they drove six days and nights without seeing a human being, or, in fact, anything but the unending sea of pampas grass.

The friendship between Dobrizhoffer and Paucke, inspired by their common ideals and ambition, had become well cemented during their months together. Long years afterward Paucke still felt its force when he set himself to writing his book. He recounts how Dobrizhoffer and himself became the chief entertainers for the journey in the mobile tent, singing, playing and delivering amusing monologues or skits. And he recalls this companion of his "whose baptismal name was Martin," as "agreeable in his manner of speaking and diverting in his ideas. His manner of thought would bring joy to anyone."[26]

From the way in which they both narrate the incident of their first meeting with *el animalito zorrino,* they definitely got much enjoyment in bantering and being bantered about America's most no-

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[25] *Ibid.,* I, 106, 121. Evidently the missionaries stayed at the farm after their first eight days in Buenos Aires, but made trips into the town. Very likely, before their departure they visited the college for the last time and then departed to join the caravan at the farm. The *caballeros* of the city accompanied them to the farm and saw them off with many gifts, red wine, chocolate, tobacco, and sugar!

[26] *Ibid.,* I, 126.

torious pastoral nuisance.[27] Worst of all Father Orosz had warned them on the boat of this little animal, hence Martin should have known better. "The said Jesuit" had decided to walk beside the cart for a change, when he and two companions espied the meek little black animal with the white stripes. Dobrizhoffer's exclamation was not new, nor was this the last time it was ever used: "Look, what a beautiful animal." His action followed a time-honored pattern and with time-honored results. It was his misfortune to be first to arrive in the dash toward the timid thing. For the next two weeks Dobrizhoffer was agreeable to none. He and his wagon were exiled from the caravan. His sole companion was the stolid driver who had lost all olfactory sensation four years previously. Dobrizhoffer and Paucke each require five pages to give their opinions of *el zorrino.*

At Fort Pergamino the hundred and seventy people in the caravan got a rest while the change of oxen was being made and new supplies gathered. Beyond lay thirty leagues of lonely land to the Rio Segundo. This, since its depth was only eight feet, was easily crossed, and they found themselves in a Spanish village. A partridge hunt, a visit to a squalid Indian village, and an Indian funeral were incidents worth recording. For Europeans who had asserted that there was wealth and abundance in the lands of the Jesuits, Paucke and Dobrizhoffer could feel nothing but pity. The idea of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones in abundance, or the idea that the Indians had anything but an appallingly meager subsistence, were ridiculous. One Spanish youth had been lured to this country by the hope of immediate wealth, and now he was sadly leaving for Peru.[28]

When the Jesuits finally arrived at Córdoba they were tendered the usual warm welcome. Dobrizhoffer and Paucke were treated as guests for a week, then they had to get into the ranks of student trainees. They needed to finish their fourth year of theology, which meant to prepare for final examinations; after this they would have to undergo third probation, a term very similar in spiritual exercises, retreats, and asceticism, to that of the first novitiate.[29] Dobrizhoffer presumably completed his studies and the tertianship before Paucke. A routine life followed then for both during these months.

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[27] *Ibid.*, I, 136–138, and Dobrizhoffer, I, 271–275, are excellently done; not the least amusing of the remarks are the philosophical reasonings on causes for the existence of the animal and its function in the plan of nature.

[28] Wernicke, I, 142.

[29] *Ibid.*, I, 145; Dobrizhoffer, II, 57.

One instance stands out in the comradeship of these two men for the remainder of the year 1749. Though nothing is said about Paucke's health directly the superiors thought that he needed a rest. The vacation consisted of a visit to each of three of the *estancias* out in the country. These ranches belonged to the College of Córdoba, and each had its resident Jesuit caretakers. The two had stayed their time at the third of these, Candelaria, and were enjoying their last sleep in the large house when a violent lightning and thunder storm began.[30] Paucke never forgot the day—the morning of November 9. Himself and three Jesuits were sleeping in the room when one bolt hit very close, so close that Paucke, thinking the building was hit, jumped up to save the relics. Before he got far a second bolt scored a direct hit. He was showered with debris; his hunting gun lay smashed at his feet; nearby the large dog lay unconscious, and three days later died; the window was wrecked and part of the altar destroyed. The Jesuits began to call out in the dark to find out if anyone had been hurt. When Father Dobrizhoffer's name was called there was no response, none, even after repeated calls. He had remained fast asleep in his alcove the whole time! On being awakened he wanted to know what was the reason for all the terror. He arose to find his alcove the only part of the house undamaged. Later in the morning they were still shaken enough to agree heartily with the scriptural phrase at the beginning of Mass: "Terribilis est locus iste . . .," meaning "Terrifying is this place," or more aptly, "This is a terrible place." The blinding rain, the flashes, the rumblings continued throughout their day's ride back to Córdoba.

In the ensuing months the routine of Paucke and Dobrizhoffer does not follow the customary pattern of Jesuit training. Their third probation, or tertianship, should have lasted some nine months, but was shortened in both cases. Paucke began his term after the stormy November 9, 1794, and he completed it and was in Santa Fe within seven months, that is, before June 10, 1750.[31] His red-letter day was March 26, when his master of tertians gladdened him with the news that he was to go to the missions.[32] Dobrizhoffer's appointment must have come much earlier. Sometime in November, 1749, a provincial congregation of the Jesuits was held in Córdoba, to which came a number of missionaries.[33] These veterans were the

30 Wernicke, I, 149–150.
31 *Ibid.*, I, 151, 155.
32 *Ibid.*, I, 153.
33 *Ibid.*, I, 92.

idols of Fathers Martin and Florian. When the congregation ended Paucke observed: "I saw some of my companions of probation, and among them my beloved Father Martin, leave with these missionaries, but I in virtue of my resolution must remain another six months."[34] Dobrizhoffer, then, left Córdoba and Paucke in late November or early December, 1749. They met again eighteen years later.

Among the Abipón of Concepción

Merely to outline the career of Dobrizhoffer for the next score of his years would result in a long paper. Since he has written his own story in an inimitable fashion our only service will be to put his activities in some chronological order. It is hoped that the source materials being gathered by Fathers Furlong and Leonhardt and the group of active scholars in the Argentine will eventuate in the publication of a definitive biography and a critical Spanish edition of Dobrizhoffer's writings.[35] The setting for his labors among the sedentary Guaraní and Mbayá east of the Paraná-Paraguay River has been amply described by many writers, but that of his efforts in four missions west of the river needs a few words of explanation.

The scene can be made clear if one conceives the Gran Chaco as a vast wilderness in the heart of South America encircled by Spanish cities and civilized Indian villages. Around the area clockwise on the east were Asunción, the Guaraní reductions, and Corrientes, marked off by the Paraguay-Paraná River. South and west were Santa Fe, Córdoba, Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, Salta, and Tarija, connected by trade roads. In the northwest were the Chiquito mis-

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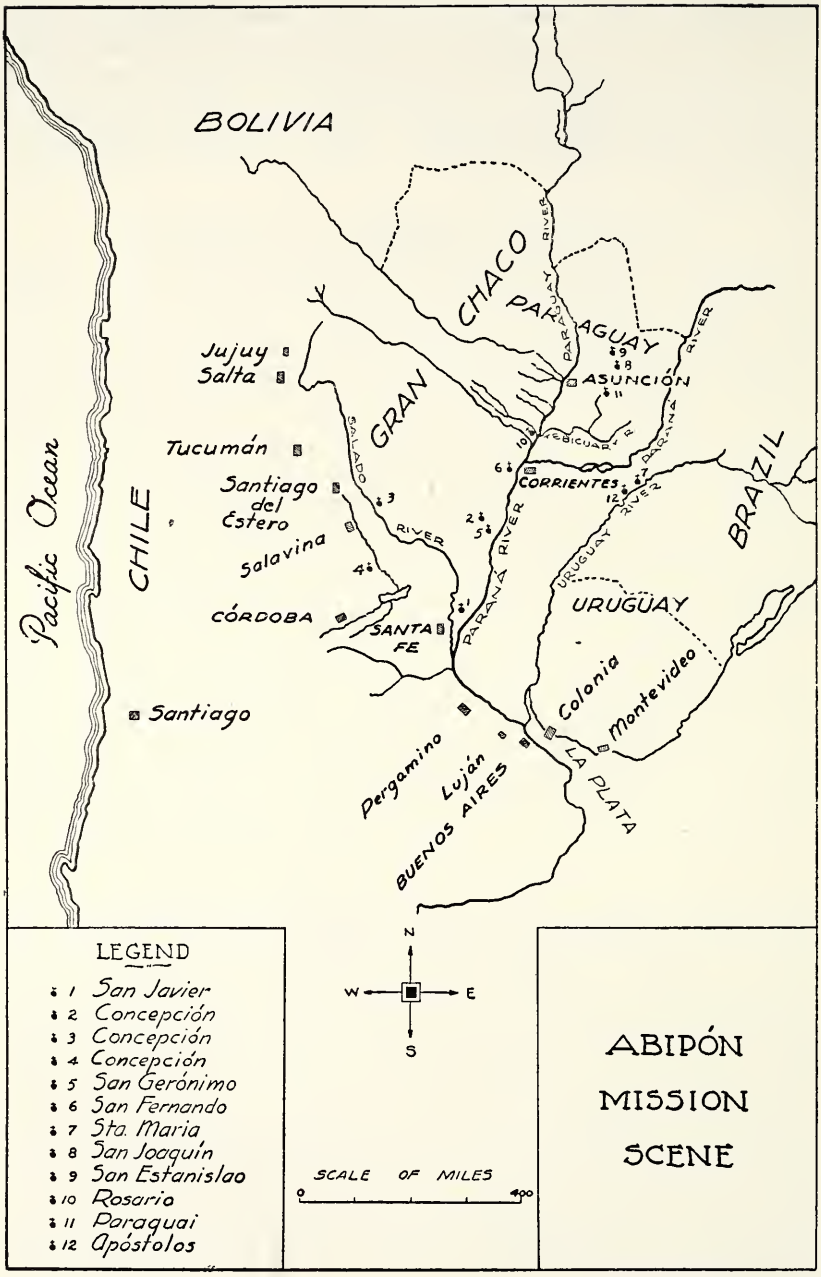
[34] *Ibid.*, I, 152. It is not at all unreasonable to make the following suppositions: Paucke was not in good health, since he mentions his two weeks illness in Lisbon, and since he constantly refers to food and diet, and since the superiors thought he needed relaxation on two occasions after his arrival in Córdoba. Therefore, the superiors hesitated about sending him to the arduous missions, and therefore his joy on receiving word to go. Dobrizhoffer apparently was in good health, finished his studies, and entered the third probation immediately after his studies, probably in August, 1749; and in view of the trials ahead, his probation in Córdoba was shortened by several months.

[35] Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 126–129, surveys the Dobrizhoffer historiography, and 129–188, Dobrizhoffer's activities, re-publishing some of the letters and documents on the Abipón; for a bibliography of Father Furlong's (Furlong-Cardiff's) writings and those of Leonhardt see Sierra, 417–418, 419, and references in MID-AMERICA, XXIX (January 1947), 35, nn. 3 and 4. For the most recent authoritative study of the ethnological aspects of the Chaco see Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, *Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, Editor, Washington, 1946, "Indians of the Gran Chaco," by Alfred Métraux, 197–370.


BOLIVIA
Pacific Ocean
CHILE
Jujuy
Salta
Tucumán
Santiago del Estero
Salavina
CÓRDOBA
Santiago
GRAN CHACO
SALADO RIVER
PARAGUAY RIVER
PARAGUAY
ASUNCIÓN
VEBICUARY R.
CORRIENTES
PARANÁ RIVER
URUGUAY RIVER
BRAZIL
URUGUAY
SANTA FE
Colonia
Montevideo
Pergamino
Luján
BUENOS AIRES
LA PLATA
LEGEND
1 San Javier
2 Concepción
3 Concepción
4 Concepción
5 San Gerónimo
6 San Fernando
7 Sta. Maria
8 San Joaquín
9 San Estanislao
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ABIPÓN MISSION SCENE

sions. The aborigines of the uncheerful Chaco were all of the same Guaicuruan linguistic family.[36] The principal tribes were the Mocoví who ruled the southern and western Chaco, the Abipón who infested the eastern section, and the Mbayá and Toba who roved in the north.

Regularly the tribesmen of the inner circle emerged from their fastnesses to make destructive raids on the Spanish centers. The Indians had abandoned their slight inclination to farming and had taken to the horse, thus increasing their speed and extending the sphere of their depredations in all directions, precisely as did the Apaches, Comanches, and Sioux of our western lands. They endangered travel on the trade roads connecting the cities. They attacked the Spanish estates for horses and cattle; they attacked the Indian settlements and missions to procure slaves. In fine, they were public menace number one, the very rumor of whose approach threw the settlers into a state of terror.[37]

Under similar circumstances our United States policy in the west became one of extermination of the Red Man. Spanish governors and missionaries adopted quite another for their Cacho problem children. As troops were far from adequate for conquest, they planned to win over to civilization groups of the mounted tribesmen, first by winning a chieftain whom all would follow. These were then to be brought to the rims of the Chaco and settled in colonies on land of their own choosing. They would stand as buffers between the settlements and the uncivilized core. Additional colonies would eat into the core until the Chaco like its neighboring Guaraní lands would have been conquered. The only profit to be derived in the process would be the harvest of souls, and hence this field called for missionaries of very stout heart. They were the lone white men to reside in the savage colonies.

By the time Dobrizhoffer arrived on the scene scattered colonies had been established, as, for instance, the group near Santiago del Estero, and San Javier north of Santa Fe in the land of the Mocoví. Deeper in the Chaco north of San Javier lay the Abipón lands. Beginnings to extend a chain of colonies up the Paraná River had already been made with the foundations of San Jerónimo in 1748, Concepción in 1749, and San Fernándo in 1750. The Jesuits were hoping to get all the Abipón into these three colonies. Dobrizhoffer had been assigned to Concepción to replace Father Bartolomé Araoz

36 Métraux, *loc. cit.*, 214, and Map 4, 198.
37 Dobrizhoffer, II, 390.

who had assisted Father José Sánchez in founding the reduction in 1749.[38]

To reach his destination Dobrizhoffer, after parting with Paucke in Córdoba, went east to Santa Fe. Here he stayed at the Jesuit college for an unspecified time. Then he moved north "several leagues" to the Mocoví reduction of San Javier.[39] He spent a period in 1750 of unknown length in this mission where Paucke was soon to begin work.[40] Here in time he heard the disquieting news that the Abipón of Concepción, his children to be, had fled their colony in revolt. With such troublemakers out of control the entire Chaco could easily be thrown into a state of savage warfare. Aid had to be sent immediately. As a result of negotiations, when Dobrizhoffer left San Javier he was accompanied by fifteen hundred mounted Mocoví delighted to act as Spanish allies in checking the uprising of their Abipón enemies. The picture of the little padre riding out into the treacherous Chaco among such a horde may well be imagined. It did not meet Abipón approval.

His introduction to Abipón ways was frightening. Nearing the site of the colony on the Inespin River,[41] over a hundred miles due north of San Javier, the newcomers were met by its savage horsemen who had come to scout the Mocoví. Leaving the main body of his followers in the plain Dobrizhoffer reached Concepción with a small guard. Father Jóse Sánchez came forth to meet him. The *cura* was

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[38] Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 122.

[39] Dobrizhoffer, III, 115, says it was several leagues from Santa Fe, but on his large map in the Latin edition he places it quite a distance up the Paraná River. Métraux, *loc. cit.*, Map 4, 198, places San Javier about 160 miles above Santa Fe. Furlong, *Entre los Mocobíes de Santa Fe*, 23–32, publishes Father Francisco Burges Navarro's narration of the origens of the Mocoví colony of Santa Fe; in this, p. 25, the first site occupied in 1743 was the old city of Santa Fe, 18 leagues north of the new city; in 1749, p. 28, the colony was moved seven leagues north; hence when Dobrizhoffer arrived there it was twenty-five leagues from Santa Fe, hence less, probably much less than 100 miles. See also Sierra, 208, who publishes the Informe of Father Querini.

[40] Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 132; Dobrizhoffer, III, 117, finally mentions Paucke, as teaching music in the school, and III, 121, as "my successor when I was removed to the Abipones," from San Javier. Burges, in Furlong, *Entre los Mocobíes*, 28, says that Paucke did not arrive until April or May, 1751. Dobrizhoffer, III, 228, recounts how he stood watch with his musket in Concepción on St. Joseph's Day (March 19), and indicates that he had been there some time before this date, which we take to be in 1750 as in Dobrizhoffer's Latin version, III, 16.

[41] When Dobrizhoffer arrived the colony was situated "ten leagues distant from San Jerónimo," Dobrizhoffer, III, 164, or "a whole morning" walk, *Ibid.*, III, 165. Before his arrival it was evidently farther north and west on the same Rio Inespín, for we note from Dobrizhoffer's remark, III, 154, that in bringing back the fathers from the deserted village there, the rescuers had to cross "lakes" and the two rivers, the Inespín and the Malabrigo.

a pitiable figure, begrimed, tattered, and afflicted of heart.[42] He literally fell into his rescuer's arms. But before the greetings were finished the marketplace was in an uproar. The Mocoví had entered and were exchanging threats with the Abipón. In the midst of the turmoil of galloping horses and wild shouting a lightning storm burst. A night of terror and watching was followed by several days of fear and anxiety as skirmishing continued. Then the Mocoví went elsewhere.

Still, this brought only a respite. Troubles had begun between the Abipón of Concepción and those of the colony of San Jerónimo, nearly thirty miles east, over the theft of horses, the abiding passion of Chaco tribesmen. It came to a crisis when Ychoalay, chieftain of San Jerónimo, rode into the colony of Concepción and boldly warned its leader, Alaykin, that he would destroy the place if the stolen horses were not returned. Moreover, he could not be at peace with the Concepción colonists as long as they consorted with his enemies. The time was roughly fifteen months after the foundation of the colony, or about the middle of 1750. When the violence would commence could not be foretold.

Then, when all seemed quiet, the Mocoví returned. At first there were skirmishes and night raids, during which Dobrizhoffer and Sánchez had to keep watch, muskets in hand. Sometimes the Mocoví were successful in driving off horses, sometimes they were routed with losses. They decided finally to have done with this petty strife and to gather all of their Chaco allies for a mass assault on the colony. This was indeed bad news, for it signified a general uprising with the ultimate aim of united attacks upon all of the Spanish settlements and estates. Warning would have to be conveyed to the governors, hence, Sánchez told Dobrizhoffer to go to Santiago del Estero for Spanish arms to stop the insurrection in its beginning at Concepción.

Father Martin with three Abipón companions made the hazardous trip of some 300 miles westward to Santiago del Estero in sixteen days, ending it by swimming the dangerously swollen Rio Dulce.[43] The first three days were made in rain, the remainder

[42] *Ibid.*, III, 224.

[43] *Ibid.*, III, 235–239. The endeavor to find out just how many miles a Dobrizhoffer league consisted of met with failure; his league might be any distance from half a mile to over four miles. In this instance he says he travelled 170 leagues from Concepción to Santiago del Estero. At three miles to a league this would be just about the distance from Santa Fe to Santiago del Estero. With a devious route to be considered we think the trip was at least 300 miles.

through marshes and flooded areas. The last three days found the messengers in a starving condition since the meat, their only food, had putrified. Although the Indians caught a large fish in the Salado River, they refused to give even a morsel to the father.[44] Considering the nature of the Chaco we must grant that the journey, made probably in May and June, 1750, was heroic.

The governor of Tucumán, Barreda, heard the news of the impending strife, but having troubles of his own along similar lines, could release only nine of the forty farmer-soldiers requested by Dobrizhoffer. The missionary started back with these, and the party made ninety-four leagues. Then the soldiers took fright at the sight of some Indians. They turned back toward Santiago with Dobrizhoffer in pursuit. They halted in the security of the missions of Turugón, where Dobrizhoffer waited reinforcements from the governor, and, incidentally preached a panegyric on July 16. After twelve days he got a detachment of twenty-four. What with swimming rivers, a prairie fire, a tiger, and various scares to impede them the padre and his company got back to Concepción five months after he had left it.[45]

There affairs had grown worse. Troops had arrived from Santa Fe and had left the impression among the Indians that the fathers were on the side of the Spaniards against the Indians. Again the Abipón fled to their secret haunts, leaving an empty mission church and two empty-hearted missionaries. Under such unhappy conditions the missionaries could boast of no great harvest of souls. In fact, they record baptisms only of the aged and dying as their chief spiritual works. The Abipón were too busy with their trickery, their sallies from the colony, their carousing at home, to listen to any instruction in religion. The scene was definitely a testing ground for Dobrizhoffer's vocation to missionary work. Amid the various tumults and scares he lived in a straw-roofed hut with little protection from dust, heat, and rain which with patience might have been suffered. Combined with annoyances from the innumerable frogs, toads, mosquitoes, gnats, fleas, and ticks, they permitted no hour of comfort. His diet, apparel, and lodging were not such as would be

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[44] *Ibid.*, III, 237.

[45] *Ibid.*, III, 240–253, for a description of his stay in Santiago and the Turugón missions; he must have arrived in the Turugón region and in the town of Salavina while preparations were being made for the celebration of the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, July 16, on which day he delivered his panegyric, *Ibid.*, III, 247–248. In II, 329, he mentions reaching this place after a fifteen days journey, where he could not sleep because of the bugs and fleas. Salavina is now a town on the Rio Dulce.

classified as civilized. He ate the rough food of the natives and he slept in a bull's hide suspended on four poles. Daytimes he cultivated the fields and garden. The Abipón away from the stockade or near it were neither solace nor companionable. His lone amusement was found in raising a dog and two young crocodiles.[46] Let us welcome the crocodiles to history for the light they shed on the transfer of the colony to another site.

To salvage the colony and to eliminate sources of strife the governor fell back upon an old plan. He resolved to remove Sánchez, Dobrizhoffer, and the Concepción braves elsewhere. Now Dobrizhoffer says that it was a full fifteen months from the date of its founding, 1749, when the difficulty over the stolen horses arose.[47] His journey to Santiago del Estero took another five months, May to October, 1750. The crocodiles died after seven months, done to death by a sharp frost, during the journey of twenty-one days occupied in removing the colony westward.[48] Frosts take place in that area in the winter months, May, June and July. The conclusion is that Dobrizhoffer moved to the new site on the Salado River during the winter, possibly June, of 1751.

The physical labor of the Jesuits on the buildings and in the fields came to naught. From the fertile lands on the Inespín River all belongings and herds were transferred to a desperately poor site eighty leagues westward on the Salado River.[49] Here with great effort they put up new dwellings and tilled the soil fruitlessly in a pest-ridden spot. "A long drought" and the sterile ground killed the project just after they had begun to occupy the buildings.[50] The governor and the Indian leaders had sought out another site agreeable to all on the Rio Dulce. The move to this seems to have been made in late December of 1752 or in early 1753, that is in the Chaco summer months after the long drought. The site well down the Rio Dulce toward the Mar Chiquito was more permanent than any of the other thirteen inhabited by the Concepción colonists.[51] To this place went Father Sánchez, who, surviving a thousand perils to his life, at length died at Ravenna in 1805, the last survivor of all the Chaco Jesuit missionaries.[52] Dobrizhoffer parted with this brave man for a new assignment at San Jerónimo.

46 *Ibid.*, I, 295.
47 *Ibid.*, III, 232; Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 125, has a map and an account of the colony based on José Joils, *Storia del Chaco*, I, 528.
48 Dobrizhoffer, I, 296.
49 *Ibid.*, III, 262–276.
50 *Ibid.*, III, 276.
51 Métraux, *loc. cit.*, 198, Map 4.
52 Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 136.

At San Jerónimo

The Abipón colony of San Jerónimo was very close to the site of the present city of Reconquista, Argentina, nearly two hundred miles north of Santa Fe and some five miles west of the Paraná River. It had been located on the northern shore of the Rio or Arroyo del Rey before the Jesuits decided to take the Indians out of the periodical flood lands to a hill on the southern shore. The land and the wide plain around it, excellent for farming and grazing, was deeded over to the Indian colonists by the Spanish officials in the presence of Father José Cardiel, who thus became the Jesuit founder, even though his place as *cura* in the same year 1748 was soon taken by Father Joseph Brigniel.[53] The soldier-farmers, with the governor at the time of the foundation, had constructed several dwellings, such as only soldier-farmers might construct. They were of straw and mud and were a casual shelter for the missionaries, who had to replace them, since when it rained it "rained harder in the room than out of doors."[54] The settlers across the river and in the cities had promised the customary supply of animals and grain for the support of the colony in payment for the protection it offered, but, as usual, the padres had to scurry to obtain the necessities of life.

Two sources of comfort awaited Dobrizhoffer when he arrived in San Jerónimo early in 1753 for his two year sojourn. First of these was the pleasant companionship of Brigniel, wise in the Abipón tongue and mild in his handling of his roistering "parishioners."[55] In Dobrizhoffer's history we find high tribute to his teacher and fellow worker, especially as the composer of a grammar, vocabulary, catechism, and group of sermons in Abipón. In imitation of his teacher Dobrizhoffer offers a fifty page grammar on the language of the Abipón in his second volume, and enjoys some comparative linguistics.[56] Again, Brigniel is lauded as the man who established a long peace between the Abipón and the Spaniards. Undoubtedly, much of what Father Martin later wrote about the customs of the Abipón, much of the history of their wars, was jotted down during his stay with Brigniel.

The other friend was the unforgettable Ychoalay. The mission-

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53 *Diario del Viaje y Misión al Rio del Sauce Realizado en 1748, por el R. P. José Cardiel, S.J.*, with a biographical study by Guillermo Furlong-Cardiff and an introduction and notes by Félix F. Outes; Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Geográficas, No. 13, Buenos Aires, 1930, 36–38.

54 Dobrizhoffer, III, 131–132; for his description of the foundation and scene, see his pages 128–140. See also Métraux, *loc. cit.*, 197, 198, 205–209.

55 Dobrizhoffer, III, 131.

56 *Ibid.*, II, 157–207.

ary makes much of his story of his San Jerónimo days revolve around Ychoalay, in fact makes him loom as the complete picture of the best type of Abipón mind and habit.[57] This leader, though not the chief of the colony, is a native subject well suited to the pen of novelist or dramatist. From his savagery Ychoalay became a ranch hand training horses in Santa Fe on a Spanish estate. He had even been a wagon driver in a caravan to and from Chile. Turning against the Spaniards because of a non-payment of his wages he brought back to the Chaco his hatred together with a very useful knowledge of their traits. Shrewd and capable he had roamed the Chaco a veritable scourge to the whites at the head of his wild raiders. Wavering between complete savagery and civilization he at length listened to the plan to organize a colony in the in-between area around San Jerónimo. His Abipón followed their leader after hearing his pursuasive address. Once Ychoalay was in San Jerónimo the periphery of the Chaco breathed more freely. Dobrizhoffer's pen expresses the wealth of thanks which the Jesuits owed to him, their great protector and defender of the peace, who finally came to outdo the Spaniards in the practice of the Christian virtues of charity and justice. His public baptism was performed before throngs in the city of Santa Fe, while his death brought universal sorrow.

Physical activity filled the daily life of the missionary. At the outset about three hundred Abipón were in the colony, but as time passed many others came to the clearing, lured more by the meat and provender than by religion. The site had to be moved, new dwellings and a chapel had to be constructed, which meant hewing trees and carrying them from distances. Ychoalay with his braves lent much help, yet, at times according to their whims the natives might stand by twitting the fathers at their work on the stockade or in the gardens. The constant excursions of the temperamental natives to no place in particular forced the fathers out either as companions or as searching parties. Whenever they donned their hideous make-up for a war the fathers were left either standing guard, gun in hand, in a distressed state of mind, or were forced out to investigate what mischief might be afoot.

Sometimes this tendency toward perptual motion could be put to service, if not completely harnessed. Frequent trips were necessary to find both straying Indians and animals, to procure herbs for medicine, to hunt deer for food, to return stolen horses. We have a picture, too, of the padre crossing the brimful Paraná to the supply

57 See Dobrizhoffer's III, Chapters XIII to XXII.

estate, paddling a skin raft amid the bobbing heads of swimming Abipón, and then returning with a herd of cattle swimming the river under the skillful guidance of the Indians.[58] One day a week was set aside for slaughtering twenty beeves and preparing meat to satisfy the enormous capacity of the colonists for eating.

The unfavorable realities preventing the fathers from converting the Abipón to Christianity were almost as many as the natives. By agreement the natives were under no compulsion to take instruction, hence they clung to their superstitions.[59] Drunkenness, lying, stealing, hate, and revenge ranked high among Chaco "virtues." Unhappy was the brave who did not have an enemy to stalk or to fear. Watching the tribesmen prepare for a battle by drinking brews from the skulls of slain enemies, Spanish or natives, as well as seeing other disgusting ceremonies, called for fortitude of soul and stomach on Dobrizhoffer's part. He had to study carefully all odd customs and Indian attitudes in order to assess the group mentality before attacking specific problems of leading nomads first to community life and next to Christian practices. Teaching even the children and aged was extremely difficult in view of their proximity to Chaco habitudes. The restless forays, the disorganization were daily offenses to his sense of order.

Patience and tact were the watchwords. Example meant little to the primitive minds essentially irresponsible, and it is to their no small credit that the Jesuits remained at San Jerónimo twenty years and fashioned a Christian village of eight hundred souls out of such obstinate materials. Such spiritual and humanitarian acts as nursing their sick, clothing and feeding the poor, continency, kindness, were to the Indians mysterious odds and ends without character pattern. Morsels of gratitude rarely fell to the padres. The hours spent in healing the wounded or the snake-bitten or the fever ridden were soon forgotten by the beneficiaries. In fact, the semblance of gratitude would put the fathers on their guard, for the Abipón were least to be feared when they were arrogantly boisterous and most to be feared when docile. Experience schooled the Jesuits in the native tendency to bluster and bluff while being fearful that some enemy

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58 *Ibid.*, II, 122–123.

59 *Ibid.*, III, 128. Dobrizhoffer has a chapter or passage in his second volume on each of items mentioned in these paragraphs. See also Métraux, *loc. cit.*, especially, 312–317, 349, 350–360, 360–364; Furlong, *Entre Los Abipones,* 20 ff. describes the Abipón ways topically from Dobrizhoffer and the other sources. Preston E. James, *Latin America,* New York, 1942, 268–279, has a sketch from the viewpoint of human geography with two maps, leaving the Chaco largely a *tabla rasa.*

might cause them to shed their blood. Among themselves they were not so chary of shedding their blood since they quarrelled with knives, or let quantities to relieve fever, or lost it in tattooing and other primitive surgery.

Dobrizhoffer made good use of his time in San Jerónimo if we are to judge by his descriptions of its vegetable, animal, and human life. Apparently, he had a vacation interlude during the two years, for he tells of receiving the gratitude of a matron of Santa Fe while he was there on a visit. He remembered the date as April 10, 1754.[60] Possibly, this was the time when Ychoalay was baptized. Toward the end of the same year there came a new appointment to the third of the Jesuit colonies among the Abipón, San Fernando y San Francisco. We estimate the time to have been in late November, 1754, for he boarded an old boat to go north on the Paraná, but the flood-waters, which happen in November, December, and January, forced him to land at Santa Lucia across the river, whence he went by horse to Corrientes.[61] There he visited for some days with the fathers in the sixty year old Jesuit college, possibly during early December. Then he was conducted across the Paraná to report to Father Klein at San Fernando.

San Fernando

The struggling frontier city of Corrientes was about one hundred and thirty miles north of San Jerónimo on the eastern bank of the Paraná River. Its settlers looked westward to the Chaco as to a place of evil. They were in daily fear that out of it would come the savage Abipón, Mbayá, or Toba who ranged the wastelands. To check its heavy losses the city like others bordering the Chaco desired a buffer colony of semi-civilized Abipón between itself and the elusive marauders of the interior. Their wish was finally obtained in the form of forty-two families of Yaaukanigá Abipón. The site of the colony, chosen with the consent of Ychoalay of San Jerónimo, was duly turned over by the Spanish commander at Corrientes, Nicolás Patrón, to their leader, Naré, on August 26, 1750.[62] It was about ten miles west of the Paraguay-Paraná within the limits of the pres-

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60 Dobrizhoffer, III, 15.

61 *Ibid.*, III, 282; on the time of the floods of the Paraná see I, 188. The greater flood reached the La Plata in December and high waters remained until February; the lesser was in June. They were earlier 600 miles up the river at Corrientes.

62 See Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 136–146, for the documents pertaining to the foundation and a chart of its location; also, Dobrizhoffer, III, Chapter XXXII.

ent city of Resistencia, Argentina. The colony was named in honor of the king and patron saints San Fernando y San Francisco.

The founding Jesuit fathers were unrelated Garcías, José, and Tomás. They remained in the unhappy place a few months before being forced to withdraw because of the insolence and knavery of the Abipón. Two more were sent, one of whom lost his mind temporarily and the other the use of his feet by reason of some infection. Next to become *cura* of the place was the Bohemian, Father Joseph Klein, who must be reckoned among the outstanding missionary heroes of the Americas for staying in San Fernando for about nineteen years. His first three assistants were forced by illness to leave one after another. His fourth companion was Father Dobrizhoffer,[63] who narrowly avoided interment in the abominable colony.

Each and all of the unfavorable realities mentioned in the description of San Jerónimo were abundantly more conspicuous at San Fernando. There were more mosquitoes, more fleas, more ticks, more reptiles, more fever. There was more drunkenness because the natives' chief fortification for battle or raid was a copious amount of their alcoholic brew, while either victory or defeat was followed by a brutish drinking orgy; and these colonists were always preparing for or returning from battles. There was less leadership, less law, less regard for anything civilized. Added dangers were jaguars, (Dobrizhoffer's "tigers"), ocelots, wild-cats, and "lions," which stalked the herds. While the Jaguar was generally feared, even granted divine powers by natives, and eaten to gain courage, they were important to Father Martin for their fat, with which he performed healings not to be discussed before people with squeamish stomachs. His encounters with this animal were several, but he did not shoot one until years later. Health conditions called out many times for the virtues of tiger's fat, hen's fat, and other medicaments, but beyond these virtues San Fernando seems to have lacked all others, except the patience of Klein and Dobrizhoffer.

With a stockade, a chapel, and a dwelling some semblance of civilization began to appear. The semblance was nullified by other events. Trouble came in the person of Debayakaikin, the bellicose

[63] Dobrizhoffer, III, 288, 293, 295, mentions three days specifically which fell during his year's stay in San Fernando. They are December 11, Quinquagesima Sunday and Ash Wednesday. The simplest explanation of the time of his arrival and departure is that he came prior to December 11, 1754, and left in November, 1755. The time of the year seems certain since he mentions swollen rivers for both occasions, but the year itself remains tentative.

chieftain, and his band of horsemen, who were fleeing the wrath of Ychoalay. These allied themselves with the San Fernando colonists, thus making the place first a refuge then a lair from which they sallied forth to plunder far and wide. Ychoalay came to get retribution from what he considered an enemy colony, much to the sorrow of Dobrizhoffer. When he departed to seek his enemies the Mocoví swooped down on the colony for vengeance against Debayakaikin, who was out arousing the wrath of the Toba. Klein and Dobrizhoffer, threatening the Mocoví with their muskets, protected their stockade, but the raiders drove off their horses on that fateful December 11, 1754.

Some two months later, on Quinquagesima Sunday, another attack, this time by the Mocoví and Toba, found the colony more prepared. Dobrizhoffer organized the defence while Klein rowed across the Paraná to get help in Corrientes. The invaders were driven off before Ash Wednesday, when Klein returned with the unwilling reenforcements—the Teniente Nicolá Patrón and ten farmer-soldiers. The Yaaukanigá Abipón and Debayakaikin's followers, feeling themselves the sole victors, exchanged verbal insults with the Spanish official, and after he withdrew, were freer than ever to conduct their plundering excursions. Their insolence included the padres in its broad scope. Dobrizhoffer relates an incident which happened probably after he left to illustrate the precarious position of the fathers. When Father Klein chided one young brave for stealing cattle from the supply ranch, the youth in the very presence of some soldiers "dashed a club at his head with such force that he fell swooning to the ground covered with his own blood."[64] And no one laid hand on the fellow.

To their manner of thinking the San Fernando warriors had effected a blissful state of affairs; they had enemies on the south, the west, and the north; the Chaco was reverting to its status as a primitive bedlam. Momentarily fearing attacks from one or other direction, the tribesmen remained close to San Fernando. As they had nothing else to plunder they practiced their thievery on the herds of the supporting estate, thus cutting down the meat and food supply that San Fernando might soon have failed had not another ranch been established across the Paraná in the Guaraní lands and stocked with cattle and horses from the other Jesuit missions. Altogether too hampered in his wonted activities Debayakaikin hied himself

64 *Ibid.*, III, 300.

out west to Father Sánchez's colony of Concepción on the Rio Dulce, which he used now as a base for ravaging.[65]

Ychoalay ultimately proved the savior of the colony of San Fernando. First, he forced one of Debayakaikin's leaders, Oaherkaikin, to reside in San Fernando. Next he organized an expedition against the evildoer himself. Riding out of San Fernando Ychoalay met Debayakaikin in force and slew him in single combat. Dobrizhoffer witnessed the triumphal return: "Ychoalay cut off the heads of Debayakaikin and four of his most noble associates, and carried them home as trophies. Having entered the town, he ordered a gibbet to be erected in the market-place, and the five heads to be suspended from it."[66] Then from his horse he delivered a masterly oration which Dobrizhoffer records and vouches for as authentic.

'Behold,' said he, pointing to the gibbet, 'the chastisement of faith so often violated! Behold the trophy of our valor! Now feed your eyes with the spoils of hostile chiefs, who, for a length of time, have scarce permitted you to breathe, and on whose account, alas! we have endured so many sleepless nights, difficult journeys, and painful wounds. This ever various and uncertain warfare, this conflict of so many years' continuance, has at length been terminated today, when we, not even thinking of battle, and to say the truth, retreating, have had a glorious victory thrust, as it were, upon our hands. Something must doubtless be attributed to fortune, but allow me to say, still more to our valour. The whole affair was conducted in such a way as to give me no reason to repent my choice of fellow-soldiers, nor you to be ashamed of the leader you fought under. He who has so long been threatening your lives, having at length received his death-blow from this spear, can now no longer threaten or inspire terror. This is the head which once devised so many treacheries. Now insult the perfidious one; but lest the same fate attend any of you likewise, be ever regardful of your faith pledged to the Spaniards, and obedient to me who am so anxious for your welfare. I do not consider the vile remnant of our enemies of sufficient importance to be deserving of our fear. The most warlike are dead. The survivors are either cowards or runaways, and owe their present existence merely to having escaped our eyes and hands. The streams dry up when their spring is exhausted, and after the head of the snake has been cut off, the rest of the body, though it may move, is incapable of doing any mischief, and wastes away in a few hours. After the extinction of their leaders, whose heads you here behold, the inimical faction, either from despair of victory, or apprehension of utter ruin, will, by degrees, grow milder, and, laying aside all enmity, accept our friendship.'[67]

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65 There are many pages in Dobrizhoffer on the Indian leaders and their wars and also of the strife across the river with the Charruas; the chronological order is not clear. See his III, 163–206.

66 *Ibid.*, III, 209.

67 *Ibid.*, III, 209–210.

This, of course, is very remarkable, so much so that Dobrizhoffer hastens to defend himself as to its authenticity. We do not know if he actually wrote it down on the scene and preserved it or if he wrote it from memory years later. It was indeed a scene long to be remembered.

Detailed impressions of his tribulations at San Fernando remained vivid in the mind of the padre. The Rio Negro, whose waters "are so bitter and salt that the very beasts refuse them,"[68] the stagnant pools and marshes filled with leeches, crocodiles, snakes, parrots, boars, deer, rabbits, ducks, and tigers, the intolerable heat, the whirlwinds and lightning, were the compound annoyances in a land of excellent soil, trees, and pasturage. The people and the village were filthy, indolent, and led by Naré who was notoriously dissolute. Fevers were common among them chiefly because their source for drinking water besides being germ-ridden happened to be the wallowing place for the horses, dogs, and cattle, and withal a sewerage vent. His house had no windows, but two doors, and a thatched roof of no import at all to the progress of the heavy rains.

All these and the fleas Dobrizhoffer might have endured, but what broke his health was the swarm of mosquitoes in the evening. At sunset they rose in clouds and filled his shack

> when supper was brought in, and by their stings and their loud hissing prevented me from gaining a moment's rest. I passed whole nights without sleep, walking up and down the court-yard for the sake of fresh air, which brought on a loathing for food. Continual want of rest and sustenance reduced me to such an emaciated state that I was literally nothing but skin and bone. Some thought I could not survive above three months, but these sad presages were prevented from being fulfilled by the humanity of the Provincial, at whose command I was removed to the old towns of the Guaraníes. It was not without tears that I bade farewell to the Abipones, amongst whom I had lived five years, and with whose language I was become pretty well acquainted; but the idea of returning to them, when restored to health, mitigated my grief at parting.[69]

Dobrizhoffer was able to write of this sadness twenty years after his departure from the Chaco, the "theatre of misery," as he terms it elsewhere. The time of his departure was probably late in the year, when the Jesuits received their annual appointments, and the year itself seems to be 1755. Although he was but thirty-eight years of age he must have appeared to be a sick little old man.

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[68] *Ibid.*, III, 278, and 278–283 for further descriptions.

[69] *Ibid.*, III, 283–284. This last page contains his itinerary and years of service in a very general way.

In Guaraní Land

Across the Paraná River went Dobrizhoffer, by what route he could not recall. Eastward in the present province of Misiones, Argentina, some two hundred miles from San Fernando lay the mission of Santa Maria Major, on the northern side of the Uruguay River. Here among the Guaraní Indians through the capable ministrations of the lay-brother infirmarian he was brought back to full health in four months. The scenes in the famous old reductions such as Santa Maria were peaceful, as has been sufficiently attested by a hundred writers carried away by the glamour of the spiritual conquest of an otherwise forlorn area. But what Dobrizhoffer did to while away the hours of his convalescence is unwritten. Did he know that he was beginning a nine year study of the "pedestrian" Indians and that one day he would write a contribution to the study of their customs and language in contrast with those of the equestrians he had recently left? What he observed and heard fills many of his pages, difficult, it is true, to arrange in order because of his stinginess in the matter of dates.[70]

He was in the mission town of Loreto, he says,[71] in 1756, consequently we suppose that he proceeded there after his four months at Santa Maria Major. Loreto was about seventy miles north on the south side of the Paraná. Then he was sent northeast to the colony of Ytatí Indians known as the mission of San Joaquín. This was about a hundred miles east of Asunción in present Paraguay. San Joaquín was his headquarters for the next eight years. Here he was soon in his element leading the life of a typical missionary, busy at learning the Guaraní, teaching religion, preaching, organizing the musical talent of the natives, and utilizing his own ability with the violin, though in this respect he thought himself "the worst of musicians."[72] On horseback and afoot his duties called him on many visits to neighboring areas and missions, particularly to San Estanislao, a colony fifty miles northeast, which had become a mission town in 1751. These two missions were regarded highly by the Spaniards, for into their confines the fathers had brought menacing savages out of their woodland haunts and thus opened the way to traders seeking the Paraguayan tea abounding in the region.[73]

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70 See *Ibid.*, I, 49–118, 178–188, 212–435 *passim.*

71 *Ibid.*, I, 187.

72 *Ibid.*, I, 70.

73 *Ibid.*, I, 55–56 for San Estanislao. On the tea trade, the caá tree, its promoters and cultivators, see I, 100 ff.; for Dobrizhoffer's refutation of the charge that the Jesuits had a monopoly in tea, see 107–108; other scattered remarks indicate that a study of this subject would be worthwhile and interesting.

Father Martin was keenly interested in the animal life about him. Any modern humane society would accept him into its ranks without probation. An instance of this quality of kindness comes out in his memoir to Don Pedro, the parrot. This *paracautee,* the size of a young pigeon, had green feathers except for the yellow, red, and blue on its head, wings, and tail.

I had in my possession a bird of this kind, which I called Don Pedro, and which articulately pronounced many words and even whole sentences, in the Spanish, Guarany, and Abiponian languages, and learnt to sing a little Spanish song admirably . . . Whenever I travelled on foot or on horseback, he sat on my shoulder, always chatty, always playful. When tired of his noise or his weight, I gave him to one of the Indians to carry—he angrily bit the man's ear, and flew back to me . . . Yet about sunset, like other fowls, he felt a desire for rest . . . by clapping his wings, and repeatedly biting my ear, admonished me to stop the journey. When I stayed in the town, he sometimes walked up and down a very long rope suspended from two pillars outside the house. When I entered the dining room . . . he tasted, snatched, and swallowed any food that he could lay hold of . . . Seeing me caress a smaller parrot of another species, filled with envy he attempted to pierce the bird with his beak; but softened by a little coaxing, he not only suffered it to sleep under his wings, but ever afterwards treated it as a pupil, or rather as a son. What the older bird pronounced with a deep voice, the younger repeated in a slenderer one. The Guaranies tie all their tame parrots by one foot to prevent them from flying away. These chains did not please me: I therefore clipped one wing of my parrots to prevent them from flying long, or far away . . . This Don Pedro of mine, after continuing many years faithful took advantage of the circumstance of his feathers having grown a little too much, to fly away and disappear. He was sought by many, but without success. At the end of three days he saw me passing through the wood, and knew me instantly. Without delay he crept swiftly along the boughs, and flew to my shoulder, repeating the words Don Pedro. But though he lavished caresses on me, he atoned for his desertion by the mutilation of his feathers. . . When he was hungry, he cried *pobre Don Pedro,* poor Don Pedro, in a tone calculated to excite compassion, repeating those words again and again, till eatable roots, bread, or some other food was given him. These particulars, relative to my parrot, the memory of which is still dear to me, I have, perhaps with too much prolixity, related in order to show you how great is the power of education, even upon brute animals.[74]

He has many more interesting remarks about parrots, their varieties, their training. He presents us with a picture that might well go on a jacket for a book—a padre on horseback with a gaily colored parrot on his shoulder. But this would not be complete, for he had another shoulder on which at times rested a little monkey. Monkeys, too, were an illustration of the value of education, though

[74] *Ibid.,* I, 320–323.

the one he had at San Joaquín was in the problem child classification. This imp was trained to unclasp the spurs when the horseman returned from riding, and he was no small source of entertainment with his mimicry and antics. Beyond this he was a liability, touching and tasting everything in the house, throwing ink-stands, spilling liquors, tearing books, breaking glassware, and stealing everything he could lay hands on.[75]

To complete the picture we have to mention the little fawn which tagged after Father Dobrizhoffer, at least sometimes during its two years of life. An Indian found the fawn and brought it to Dobrizhoffer when it was a few days old. He raised it on milk in his own apartment. Thereafter when the padre rode or walked the little fellow followed like a dog. A collar of tinkling bells kept the dogs away. Among the choice morsels fed to the fawn was an occasional sheet of paper, "sweeter than honey to his taste."[76] The fawn gradually grew too large for his collar. "I endeavored to loosen it; when the little animal, imagining that I did it with the intent of causing his death, and believing me to be his enemy, took to flight." And stayed away in the plains for a month.

> At length I directed my attention towards recalling and reconciling him. Allured by a sheet of paper, which I showed him from a distance, he approached me, though with trembling foot, and being presented at intervals with fresh sheets of paper, followed me to the house, and . . . remained as long as he lived, with the utmost fidelity in my house. He would often fight with mules for half an hour together, affording a spectacle worthy to be seen and applauded by the assembled Indians; for resting on his fore-feet, he kicked the head of the mule with his hinder ones, and whilst his antagonist with bites and kicks endeavored to render like for like, the fawn, by leaping backwards and forwards with incredible celerity, eluded the threats and anger of the enraged beast. After obtaining so many victories . . . engaging in the plain with an untamed mule, his back was broken by the kicks of his adversary, which occasioned his death, at two years of age, when, being a male, he had very large horns. You will scarce believe how we grieved for his death. I still have in my possession a music-book bound with his skin.

The story of a bird of the air and a beast of the forest should be followed with one about his pet fish, but we have already given proper credit to water-dwellers, namely, his crocodiles. Dobrizhoffer had no fear of these amphibians, even when they were swimming past his low boat or bull's hide raft, eyes sparkling and mouths

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[75] *Ibid.*, I, 283. Dobrizhoffer, 282–289, has descriptions of the various kinds of apes; the little apes, the melancholy apes, the flying apes, the pig-apes, and the large hairy fellows, one of which gave him quite a scare during a dark night in the woods, 286.

[76] *Ibid.*, I, 279–281, for this and the following quotations.

wide. They bothered only those who molested them. They were valuable to him for medicines supplied by their fat and teeth. "The town of St. Joachim was surrounded with lakes," he says. "About sunset we often went out to breathe the fresh air, and in our walk always met with crocodiles of every age and species, but never received any injury from them."[77]

By describing incidents arising in his surroundings the Austrian father reveals in his reactions much of his character and temperament. He rejoiced in taming animals; he was happy to see them develop under kind treatment; he desired to witness the transformation of the savage region into one of peace and friendliness. His sharp criticism of every offender against the law of charity and justice is ample proof of apostolic spirit. In temperament he was friendly and this quality led him to seek friendship in man and beast. All were to him God's creatures, whom he wished to love because they were so. He seems to take a personal interest in each of the creatures of Paraguay, as the above illustrations reveal. Without such a spirit neither he nor any of the missionaries could have remained long in Paraguay or the Chaco.

His chief desire was to tame savages of the wild woods. Urged by this he tramped many weary leagues from his mission station. He had his mind set upon one particular group of forest people that seemed a suitable "prey" for his zeal. About fifty miles east of San Joaquín was a primitive tract of jungle where Spanish tea hunters had found an excellent and plentiful growth of tea trees. The woods proved quite ideal because there were no savages to attack the men while they were lopping off the branches or while they were carrying them back through San Joaquín to Asunción for sale and shipment. But one day a tea merchant was in an unusual hurry from the woodlands. He paused at the mission with the bad news that traces of the savages, cannibals no less, had been found in the vicinity of his tea crop. Wherefore, he and his men were vacating the place for fear of their lives. Since such presences would play havoc with the profitable trade, several attempts had been made to find the savages in order to make some protective pact with them, but the exploring expeditions never reached the suspected region owing to difficulties of jungle travel, floods, swamps, fear of ambuscades, and, in fine, plain fear. The failures aroused the curiosity of Dobrizhoffer. "So that," says he, "the glory of finding these savages was re-

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 297.

served to the author of this work."[78] Evidently, our missionary considered this feat the most remarkable of his career among the Guaraní.

His first attempt to find the Mbae Verá people, as they were called, ended in failure. With one Vilalba, who was anxious to bring the savages to the town, and twenty-five Guaraní he reached the forest of Mbae Verá, where their search began. "After having traversed the mournful solitude eighteen days, and suffered what neither I can describe nor my reader credit, . . . we returned to the town."[79] The merchants heard Dobrizhoffer's report in San Joaquín to the effect that there were no traces of any savages of recent origin. The Spaniards, feeling that the savages had departed, soon returned to their tea gathering in Mbae Verá.

All went well until strange savages began to visit their camp. They appeared quite friendly, but refused to reveal where they lived. They became suspicious that the Spaniards were trying to find their village, and the Spaniards became suspicious that they were plotting an attack. Hence, in his alarm, the trader Vilalba asked Dobrizhoffer to make a second trip. This bogged down in swamps and marshes after a twenty days' journey in rain. Still persisting he finally undertook the third trip. This proved successful, for arriving at the woods he discovered "three tolerably populous hordes," that is three villages under three chieftains, one the very friendly Chief Roy, and the other the execrable Tupanchichú. To bring these people together into a colony was the missionary's great ambition.

He unfolds the story of his attempt with all the skill of a dramatic novelist.[80] He describes the primitive forest people as he found them in their huts. They were suspicious of every stranger, of Indians whom they thought hostile, of Spanish tea pickers whom they considered cruel intruders, and of the Brazilian mamelucos because of their slave raids. The old Chief Roy at first would have no truck with either the Christian Indians or Dobrizhoffer. He said that St. Thomas had been to his land long ago and had prayed over it, therefore there was no need for any of this father's prayers. Be-

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[78] *Ibid.*, I, 58.

[79] *Ibid.*, I, 59. The region is the present uninhabited area between the Rio Monday and the Rio Acaray in southeastern Paraguay. See map in Dobrizhoffer, Latin Edition, I.

[80] *Ibid.*, I, 61–87. There seems no need to make individual footnotes for the following description, since it is the only account of this event.

sides, his people were living at a great distance and would slay anyone approaching their homes. Dobrizhoffer by feeding him roast beef and by proving that he was neither hostile Indian, Spaniard, nor raider, finally cajolled Roy into taking him to his people. So, through the marshes and over the rivers they went.

A messenger out ahead had already warned the village of the newcomers, hence the tribe was in trepidation when Roy and his troupe arrived. To change their fear to laughter he made faces at them, saying he was a terrible fellow who would eat them. Once his purpose was explained they wanted him to sleep in their house, but he dodged that trial by saying that they had dogs around, and where dogs were there were fleas, and where fleas were he could not sleep. Consequently, he slept three nights in the open square of the village. On the first evening at his request Roy ordered his people to assemble to hear the father. Once they were gathered he won their attention with a few tunes played on his "viol d'amour," which he judged was the best music they had ever heard, since it was their first and only concert. Then he delivered a long oration to them, urging them to come out of their damp wood into a colony where he might instruct them. The clinching arguments were given in the form of little mirrors, knives, scissors, rings, necklaces, and glass beads. The Indians were then dismissed for meditation of the possibilities of this strange plan.

During the three days' wait in the village old Roy had taken Dobrizhoffer to his heart. Such was his affection that he wished to have the missionary with him as long as he lived. In his own naïve way he had hit upon a means of bringing about this happy event. He broached the subject to some of Dobrizhoffer's Christian Guaraní. He had a daughter, he said, "the prettiest girl in the world, and I am resolved to marry her to the father." His wife had already approved of the padre for her son-in-law. The elected one, utterly unaware of these arrangements for his future happiness, was more and more nonplussed at the sly looks and giggling of his Indian followers. He finally wormed the secret out of them. They reassured him that they had told Roy how impossible his plan was, but Father Martin hastened to add his explanation of celibacy for Roy's benefit.

Impressed with everything about the religion Roy resolved to have a colony in Mbae Verá. To effect this he called a conclave of the other *caciques.* All agreed, except the medicine man, Tupanchichú. Happy over the outcome, Dobrizhoffer, accompanied by

the sons of the chieftains and a bodyguard of naked tribesmen set out for San Joaquín to get supplies and a herd for the new colony. When he with his painted and befeathered following entered the town there was at first consternation, then relief, then applause and congratulations. The savages received festive treatment for fourteen days. The majority of them then returned to their village to await the establishment of the colony.

Dobrizhoffer busied himself about permissions and supplies. He wrote to the provincial and to the royal *teniente* at Asunción. While this was taking place in San Joaquín out east in the deep woods the devilish Tupanchichú hatched a plot to thwart the enterprise. His fellow conspirator was an "opulent Paraguayan" of Spanish descent who wished to enslave the prospective colonists and eliminate his rival tea traders. The twain plotted the death of Roy and achieved it by poisoning his potatoes. The news was heart-breaking to Dobrizhoffer. The white villain met a fiery retribution when the savages revenged the death of Roy by setting fire to his encampment and watching while he and his twenty workmen perished in the flames. Then the jungle people hid themselves in unknown places.

Once more did Dobrizhoffer set out to find the nomads. He found only three, an old mother, her handsome son, and her beautiful daughter. These he enticed from the woods into San Joaquín. In as touching a narrative as one will find in mission annals the missionary describes how happily they came, how they wilted away with tuberculosis in the confinement of town life, and how they died as Christians.[81] In such passages we have a complete revelation of the missionary's heart and life in fearless quest of souls.

Thus the years passed in San Joaquín until the middle of 1763. True, there were plagues and local worries, but the scene was far from such events as the Seven Years War and other world events. Dobrizhoffer probably was aware at the time of the first steps taken to suppress his Order by the Portuguese in 1759 and by the French court in 1764. About the time news of the Treaty of Paris was reaching the colonies circumstances had arisen in the Chaco which brought about his return to the Abipón on the miserable side of the Paraguay-Paraná River.

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[81] *Ibid.*, I, 88–96; Sister Angela Blankenburg, "German Missionary Writers in Paraguay," MID-AMERICA, XXIX (April, 1947), 126–127, describes this episode in some detail.

Rosario

The trouble in the Chaco was caused by some rascally Abipón who one by one had been deserting the colonies of Concepción, San Fernando, and San Jerónimo. These renegades from civilization, banded together with the dregs of the Chaco, made lairs in the woods, whence they sallied forth to plunder the goods of the three colonies. They were a threat to the settlements as well as to boats carrying Paraguayan products. They devised a clever scheme to get protection from the irate Indians and at the same time insure themselves a livelihood. They would ask to have themselves established as a colony and be located at a strategic spot for their raids, and possibly for interceptions of down-river boats. In the guise of converts to a better life their wily representatives appeared before the governor of Asunción with their petition.

Everything was against such a project. The incorrigibility of these Abipón was known. The site chosen was a useless waste, sterile, pest-ridden, and the worst sector of the Chaco for man or beast.[82] Despite the obvious ulterior motives of the renegades, Governor Fontes and Commander Fulgentio de Yegros granted the petition. If the lands and grasses would not support the colony, the settlers would, they promised. Since a padre was needed for the work, the Jesuit Provincial, Nicolás Cartucci, was ordered to supply a missionary.

Cartucci was then residing at Santa Rosa, about 150 miles south of San Joaquín. There Dobrizhoffer had journeyed on business in August, 1763. There he soon received orders to establish the colony. His account leaves it quite clear that the Jesuit superior and the Spanish officials acted in defiance of all common sense and the weighed judgment of all experienced persons. Despite his foreknowledge of failure, Father Martin obeyed his marching orders. He returned to San Joaquín, made his farewells to Guaraní land, then moved west to Ascunción, arriving there on August 28, 1763.[83] The town gave him four fine horses as a parting gift.

The little missionary had to wait four months at Asunción before going down the river to his colony. During this time the governor was collecting tithes from the settlers and surrounding farms, in the form of cattle, sheep, horses, and grain. All was given

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[82] Dobrizhoffer, III, Chapters XXXV – XLIV, 303–387, has his account of his stay in San Carlos y Rosario. Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 152–168, adds some of the missionary's letters and his drawing of the stockade. For the establishment see, Dobrizhoffer, III, 307–309, and I, 181.

grudgingly; the beasts were few and broken-down. Worse, his four horses were stolen by some Spaniards. The grain was moldy. Three full months elapsed in preparations. On November 24 the expedition started south with a salute from the town's guns. Four hundred farmer-soldiers were divided, some on the three large ships with Dobrizhoffer, Yegros, and Fontes, and others on horseback.

The site of the colony of San Carlos y Rosario was a hundred air-line miles south of Asunción, or roughly double the distance by horse and boat. It was ten miles west of the Paraguay River, opposite the point where the Tibicuary enters the Paraguay from the east; it was on the south side of the Little Salado, in the region called Timbo from the trees there. After waiting in heavy rains for three days on the east bank of the Paraguay, the expeditionaries crossed, then marched inland to Rosario. The whole plain was inundated. the residence of the padre, previously put together of grass, palm branches, and mud, was dissolving in the rains. The soldiers constructed another while Dobrizhoffer fixed up a crude chapel, with a grass floor. The ever present mosquitoes and fear of attack swayed the governor toward a quick departure. He and all the Spaniards took to their boats, leaving Dobrizhoffer alone with the savages.

It would be foolhardy for anyone to attempt to improve on Dobrizhoffer's narrative of his heart-breaking and health-shattering stay in Rosario del Timbó, or to present in other words the vivid drama, the climax of his history of the Abipón. He was there from early December of 1763 until September or October of 1765. The climate is recognized as possibly the hottest in this hemisphere. Mosquito swarms, brackish waters, floods, jaguars, one of which he shot, reptiles, vermin, filled the woods and swamps. He became carpenter, farmer, physician, nurse, and one-man defence of the stockade. All the while he lived in deep loneliness of spirit convinced of the folly of trying to maintain the colony under such hopeless conditions. He had neither Jesuit nor other white companionship. Of two overseers sent by the officials to care for the farm across the river one proved a thief and the other was insane.[83]

His remarkable frankness in both his *Historia* and his letters from the scene will probably prevent his ever becoming what popular opinion in Asunción proclaimed him, "a confessor of the Faith," for he is scathing in his criticism of the niggardly officials, selfish townsmen, Spanish farmer-soldiery, and, no less, of the judgment of his superiors. Moreover, passages describing his personal heroism may

[83] *Ibid.*, III, 318.

be deemed self-gratifying, even though his intentions were to refute charges that he was a coward. His many days without food, his many nights without sleep, his sufferings during a fever, his calloused feet, his arrow-pierced shoulder, his tireless attention to Indians infected with smallpox, his bearing of savage insolences and ingratitude—these he presents as proofs of his courage, but also of the divine help sustaining him.

Major heartaches terminating in disaster came from the proclivities of his Indians. Restless, dissolute, and untractable, they remained obdurate to civilization. The colony stockade was to them only an officially protected lair with no soldiers to exact sanctions for their misconduct. Their thefts of horses stirred up warfare with the Mocoví and Toba, and worst of all made them and Dobrizhoffer enemies of Ychoalay, his erstwhile friend.[84] Guerilla skirmishes, open assaults, and counter-raids became the order of the day. This raw, animal type of existence left no moment of security day or night. The one restraint, the one fear was the father's musket and a small swivel cannon, which he presented on occasions to protect his village or had at his side during his night watches.

Accompanying these threats to the existence of the colony came the dread killer, smallpox. From May 14 to November, 1764, it had its way. Dobrizhoffer attended as physician and nurse to three hundred cases, many of them three to twelve miles away from the settlement in the jungles to which they had fled. Apparently, he did well in his role, for only twenty died. One of the deaths occasioned a crisis in Dobrizhoffer's life.[85] A Toba chief, remaining in the colony as a spy after his men had made a raid, became infected. Before his death he had been baptized by the padre. When the Toba heard the news they painted themselves for a revenge assault, highly aroused because they believed the baptismal water brought about the death. They attacked the colony, driving off the cattle, its food supply. The

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[84] *Ibid.*, III, 324. It is difficult to follow the movements of the tribesmen in their skirmishings; Dobrizhoffer tells various instances of their attacks, as p. 330, when he snatched up "my arms, and guarding the door, I performed the part both of commander and garrison; and, little as I am, was more than sufficient to terrify so many horsemen." We cannot account for their fear of firearms, since he showed them the powder and ball, and since they knew how to dampen powder, or to attack during reloading processes. A berserk Abipón tried to slay him several times, II, 235.

[85] *Ibid.*, III, 337–345; the plague referred to in his II, 240–241, affected the Guaraní in 1765; Furlong, 165, has the plague raging in Rosario from May to November, 1765, instead of 1764; Dobrizhoffer could not have been ill nor have conducted his defence, and left the mission, while at the same time caring for the sick during these months.

wily Abipón chose the occasion suitable to rush messengers up to Asunción to ask for four hundred Spanish farmer-soldier cavalrymen who with themselves could visit a lasting punishment upon the Toba. And so it was done. After the massacre of the Toba the cavalry under Yegros returned to Asunción, the Abipón to Rosario, bloated with victory and spoils in the form of horses and forty prisoners. They were now insufferably insolent over what they considered their victory, for not a Spanish gun would fire owing to the wet powder.[86]

Dobrizhoffer knew that the Toba and their kin of other tribes would mass for vengeance. He asked for aid in his letters, all to no effect. At regular intervals from August 9, 1764, until January 14, 1765, he despatched messages telling of his plight.[87] Once, five Spanish guards arrived in Rosario, but these quickly found an excuse to leave. As the plague was rather widespread in the Chaco the officials and the Jesuit authorities supposed that none of the tribes would be able to attack; nor did they care to expose themselves to the contagion. At length on the verge of despair he wrote out of his desolation to Father Antonio Miranda, Rector of the Jesuit College at Asunción, as heart-touching letters as one will find in mission annals. In one dated January 6, 1765, he says in part:

> I have been gravely ill repeated times because of the rebelliousness of my Indians, the intolerable heat, and the polluted water. I pass many days without eating, many entire nights without sleeping, many mornings without Mass, and in fine, I do not know how I remain alive; I wish I had a companion who might be witness to what is suffered here... Until things change appearances here it is barbarous to allow a sole priest to be exposed in this mournful post.[88]

At the end of the Paraguayan mid-summer, perhaps in late February, 1765, a more violent fever stopped the missionary's pen. After twenty-seven days of this continuous fever, and a return of the tertian fever, he resembled a skeleton. He tells of hearing no words of hope, but rather the reminder from his charges monotonously repeated that he was going to die. Indians brought word of his condition to other colonies. Finally, from Asunción came a Jesuit father with twelve soldiers to take over in case Father Martin had died.[89] We gather that this Jesuit was no hero. He arrived eight days after Easter, did everything he could to get Dobrizhoffer on his feet, was happy to leave after a week with the majority of

[86] Dobrizhoffer, II, 399. Here Dobrizhoffer speaks of 200 Spanish horsemen on the expedition, but in III, 346 ff., he has 400.
[87] Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 156–165 has these *cartas*.
[88] *Ibid.*, 161–162.
[89] Dobrizhoffer, III, 358.

the soldiers, and was in bed for three months on his return to the city. Why the authorities did not get the poor man out of the place is beyond comprehension. Even in October of the preceding year the Provincial, Father Juan Andreu, knew the conditions, but told Dobrizhoffer he was powerless to remedy them. Andreu on his visitation came in the evening of October 6 and did not close his eyes until he left next noon because of mosquitoes and fear of attacks.[90] Father Martin evidently was to be spared for more work.

The long expected return of the Toba was heralded by many signs, very similar to those used by Indians of our western plains, smoke signals, stealthy approaches by the spies, cries in the night, and horses being driven off by small bands. Four Spanish guards were sent from Asunción, whose fear and stupidity are rather immortalized by Dobrizhoffer. Their deeds in no wise illustrate the legend of Spanish cruelty, and were all soldiers of their ilk the world would forever be rid of wars. More useful in the defense measures were eight Abipón of the colony who for their own unfathomable reasons chose to fight in the stockade.

At four o'clock in the morning of August 2, 1765, when the moon was full and the colony was deep in slumber, six hundred mounted Toba and their various allies rushed the stockade. The Spanish night watchman, awakened from his sleep, and the three other soldiers began to gather their kits for a hasty departure, instead of firing the cannon and muskets. Dobrizhoffer, from this point on, tells an amazing story of his defense of the stockade. Fear or despair gave him courage. With four pistols and a musket he approached the paling of the stockade amid falling arrows.[91] An arrow with five hooks pierced his shoulder. He went into the house where the captain of the guard was reclining and had him twist out the arrow. He returned to the yard with the musket in his left hand, since his right arm was bloody and useless. The enemy was withdrawing, awed by the sight of the weapon. A fleeing Toba was killed by an arrow shot by one of his Abipón. Although the shouting and attacks continued for some hours only himself and an Abipón had been wounded, while a number of the enemy apparently were hit. Two muskets had been fired, one by an Abipón and one at the beginning of the fray by one of the soldiers, who aimed his weapon at the moon!

The account of the battle, written after years of retellings, has

90 Furlong, 156.
91 Dobrizhoffer, III, 367.

the polish of a novel, but it leaves us somewhat surprised at Father Martin's lack of modesty. Definitely, we are disappointed with the Toba type of courage, if we consider that six hundred of them could not take, could not even set fire to the stockade defended by so few men and a little padre with a blunderbuss. Perhaps he and his helpers and later the citizens of Asunción were right in attributing the victory to heavenly aid. A great moral victory had indeed been won. The colony was saved, the Abipón underwent a change of heart toward the fathers. Accustomed to boasting they now had much to boast about; word of the stout defense went abroad in the Chaco. The government and the Jesuit superiors adopted new attitudes toward the desolate mission of Rosario, and there is no telling what the final success of this and the other Abipón missions would have been if the suppression of the Jesuits had not occurred.

On the night of the victory Dobrizhoffer wrote a report to the governor of Asunción. He sent with it the arrow and his bloody shirt sleeve.[92] The Abipón messengers spared no embellishments in their verbal descriptions. Neither did the four soldiers when they arrived. And, be it said, neither did Father Martin when he talked years later to his Viennese audiences. His arm pained exceedingly for some days, but was completely cured in sixteen days with a remedy unthought of in modern pharmaceutics—melted fat of a hen! Two unique problems developed over the event. The ecclesiastics debated his status as martyr or confessor of the Faith. They argued that the occasion for the attack was his administration of baptism to the Toba chief, therefore he had shed his blood out of hatred of the Faith. But he had not died, and hence could not be called a martyr, but might be called a confessor. The second poser developed when the governor wished to settle a pension upon him as a missionary. He retorted that the missionary's pension could not be given to him but that he could apply for the soldier's pension. He got neither.

Nor did he leave Rosario until three months had passed He was then, in September or October, 1765, relieved by his fellow Austrian, Father Joseph Brigniel, and Father Gerónimo Rejón.[93] Brigniel was sixty-six years old at the time. Dobrizhoffer boarded the decaying river boat for an eight days' journey up to Asunción, but owing to a violent storm and the subsequent unseaworthiness of the craft he

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[92] *Ibid.*, III, 376–382 for the items in this paragraph.

[93] *Ibid.*, III, 381 and for his journey to Asunción and to Apóstoles, 382–386. Brigniel also found Rosario intolerable and after a time became dangerously sick, 383, as did Father Rejón; see his letter in Furlong, 169.

walked the final miles for half a day. His welcome among the Jesuits at the college of Asunción was warm. How long he stayed there is not certain. After some days he was asked to go twenty leagues northeast to Paraquai to substitute during the absence of the pastor. This he did, and on the return of the father Dobrizhoffer continued his journey. His destination was the Guaraní mission at Apóstoles where he was to rest.

On Christmas eve of 1765 he reached the peaceful reduction, having crossed the Tibicuary and Paraná Rivers in his three hundred mile trip from Ascunción. There the famed Brother Norbert Ziulak (Zuilac), physician and apothecary, took him in hand for treatment.[94] He restored the use of the finger which had stiffened as a result of his arrow wound, and in three weeks time had Dobrizhoffer again in full health. Once out of the infirmary the missionary awaited a new appointment. The magistrate of the Indian town San Joaquín had asked that he be again appointed to this place. And during Lent of 1766 Dobrizhoffer was on his way north 140 leagues to his final mission residence.

Farewell to Paraguay

The familiar and peaceful scenes must have been pleasing to Dobrizhoffer. The pueblo had passed through a serious crisis in 1765, when 2,000 of the Indians were stricken with smallpox and 200 had died.[95] Now life was tranquil. The missionary continued his work, but apparently found little out of the ordinary to record. He learned more, to his regret, about several creatures out of harmony with nature's scheme. Some wasps put themselves up in his house, and when he made the mistake of firing a bullet into the nest one stung him in the face. From this he learned something else, namely, that beef fat, the butter of Paraguay, would reduce the swelling. Then, one evening a centiped (Scolopendra) bit his hand. This taught him to hang a string of garlic near his bed to keep away such things and serpents. He did this until he found a snake curled up in the garlic. He did not seem to like the Paraguayan tobacco, since he considered it far less fragrant than that of Virginia or Cuba.[96]

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94 Sierra, 401.

95 Dobrizhoffer, II, 239–240. A testimonial of the padre and his assistant, Father Antonio Cortesa, dated October 1, 1766, certifies that there were 378 Christian families and a total of 1639 Christians in San Joaquín; the document is in Furlong, *Entre los Abipones*, 178.

96 Dobrizhoffer, II, 319, for the wasps; II, 300, for the centeped; I, 110, for the tobacco.

Dobrizhoffer was not one to have peace long. The courts of Europe were busy about arranging misery for himself and his brother Jesuits. Bourbon stupidity was ripening. The European middle class desired to manage the business of empire. Trade was the ruling passion, and nobles were averse to the work involved in trade or business. The business class in or out of parliaments were telling the rulers their position. But larger trade required more raw products, which in turn called for more and cheaper labor. Such things as missions and schools had better be in business hands. Ideologically, too, the Jesuits stood in the way of trade expansion with theories of social justice, charity, and condemnations of slavery and the general policy of expediency. Thus, Carvalho in Portugal saw reasons to suppress them and take over their holdings in the Portuguese lands in 1759. The king of France was persuaded to do likewise in French lands in 1764. Charles III of Spain was argued into the same course by February 27, 1767. Sealed orders for the arrest of all Jesuits were opened on April 1, 1767, and put into execution at midnight of that day. These orders reached Spain's colonies at various times and were carried out in the different regions during 1767 and 1768.

The royal mandate came to the hands of Don Francisco Bucarelli y Urzúa, Governor of Buenos Aires, for execution in the whole Platine area. On July 3, 1767, arrests of the Jesuits were made in Buenos Aires, July 6 in Montevideo, July 12 in Córdoba, July 13 in Santa Fe, July 21 in Corrientes, and so on in the other cities.[97] Bucarelli was not nice about the procedure. He feared, however, making any arrests in the missions. In fact he was quite aware of the fact that if the Jesuits were to take a stand their Indians could destroy any and all of the frontier cities. He missed their spirit, for he was thinking of what they ought to do. He used "discretion." He gathered the *corregidores* and *caciques* in Buenos Aires and by gifts, ensignia, and bribes tried to convince them of how much better their lot would be as Spanish subjects.[98] The move was stupid, in that the Indians discovered their bargaining points. His whole plan of damnification of the Jesuits might easily have failed and his soldiers might have been slain in the villages if the Jesuits themselves had not restrained the Indians.

[97] Much has already been written on the expulsions of the Jesuits; for the arrests of the German speaking Jesuits see Sierra, 319–357, especially 348–351 for those of the Platine area, and for Dobrizhoffer in particular see Furlong, 178–181; both contain source materials.

[98] Bucarelli's letter to Conde de Aranda, Spanish Minister, dated September 14, 1767, is in Sierra, 349.

This point is amply illustrated by none better than Dobrizhoffer. Bucarelli had sent word to Governor Murphy of Asunción to arrest the *curas* in the pueblos of Paraguay. Murphy commissioned Don Narciso Duarte as the general to arrest Dobrizhoffer in San Joaquín. At what precise time he arrived is not stated. General Duarte and his handfull of soldiers enjoyed many things more than they did the next few hours. The Indians took up arms to defend their padres. Dobrizhoffer used all his powers to calm them down, according to witnesses.[99] Duarte wrote to Murphy officially crediting Father Martin with saving his and his companions' lives. Murphy relayed the gratitude of Duarte to Bucarelli. As for Dobrizhoffer, the order "was bitterer than death; in fact, it did hasten the death of many. . . ."[100]

The missionary began his seven hundred mile journey, probably by way of Asunción and the Paraguay-Paraná, and probably in the beginning of 1768 in the wake of the floods. On St. Patrick's Day, 1768, Bucarelli wrote that he had 150 Jesuits ready for the trip to Europe, not counting Dobrizhoffer, who "was ill in the hospital" at Buenos Aires.[101] The padre was in extreme danger from dysentery. Fourteen of his companions died of this after drinking water from the Paraná while waiting to be banished.[102]

By the end of March, 1768, he was on the *Esmeralda,* captained by Matteo Callao.[103] Glance at his companions, united after their years of work in the Argentine, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia. They are writers honored today by historians and scientists: Brigniel, Burges, Iturri, Sánchez Labrador, Juan García, José Feragut, Roque Gorostiza, José Jolis, Francisco Miranda, Paucke. These Black Robes would have much to say to each other during the long voyage. The *Esmeralda* left Buenos Aires and reached Montevideo. The prisoners then had to wait there six weeks till May 16 before weighing anchor and heading for the Atlantic.

In August the ship anchored at Cádiz. The Spanish fathers, and the colonial born, were put in prisons or deposited on the coasts of Italy. Dobrizhoffer and the German and Austrian Jesuits were imprisoned in the convent of the Franciscans at the port of Santa

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[99] Furlong, 178, quotes Father Iturri; Dobrizhoffer says nothing about it in III, 386, prefering silence.

[100] *Ibid.*, III, 415.

[101] Furlong, 180, from a letter of C. Murphy to His Majesty, April 9, 1768.

[102] Dobrizhoffer, I, 189.

[103] *Ibid.*, I, 155; for the data in this and the following paragraphs see Furlong, 180–182.

Maria. Paucke was sent north by boat to Holland. On March 19, 1769, Dobrizhoffer embarked on a ship flying the Swiss flag whose captain was Cornelius Jansen, a good man, according to the father. It lay to somewhere along the north coast of Italy to disembark its passengers. Then the missionary traveled through the Alps and in August, 1769, he was in Vienna. Pope Clement XIII had died in February and Clement XIV was not elected until September. The Jesuits were, therefore, still in very good standing in Vienna and Rome. Dobrizhoffer, excluded from the Spanish possessions, had four full years as a Jesuit in Vienna before the papal suppression of August, 1773, and seventeen years more of life as an abbé before his final illness.

His life in Austria as an active preacher, pastor, and writer has been recounted in the preceding number of this quarterly.[104] He remained always popular, jovial, and entertaining, despite various aches bothering him in his late sixties. He was a favorite speaker before the court of Maria Theresa, he was a favorite with the boys, and he was sought out by the savants. His days were full when he passed away in the Misericordia Hospital in Vienna on July 17, 1791.

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[104] Blankenburg, "German Missionary Writers," *loc. cit.*, 122–131. See also Furlong, 181, for documentary data.

The Record Book of a Lower California Mission

On the eastern coast of the long, thin peninsula of Lower California and about one third north from its tip is the site of the ancient mission center of Loreto. The first permanent mission of this rock-ridden and barren peninsula was established here in 1697 by the Jesuit Juan María Salvatierra. North from Loreto along the coast the voyager comes to a narrow and shallow bay which plunges for miles south into the land. It is still called Bahia de la Concepción. Flanked by hills and mountains it offered grateful shelter in mission days to those who were on their way to the northern establishments. North of the bay's outlet a stream drops its waters into the sea. It was named by the Indians Mulegé while the general district in their Cochimí tongue was called Calamañija. North, the shoreline runs east in a graceful curve whose northern crescent forms a cape, called De las Virgines. Salvatierra had early been here and did not forget the favorable location, for the running waters of the stream would ensure a mission from drought and from starvation.

His purpose was formed to create a mission here so soon as this could be possible and it did become possible in 1705, two years after his visit to the country. The proper man was at hand for the foundation, Juan Manuel Basaldúa. This missionary sailing north from Loreto went a few miles up stream and there picked out his mission site and founded a mission pueblo which was destined to endure for a century and a half. He called it Santa Rosalía.

Santa Rosalía Mulegé, one of the nineteen establishments of the Jesuits in Lower California, "is situated in the slope of a high mountain range," later wrote the Franciscan Palóu of Alta California fame, "on the bank of a large stream called Mulegé, which empties into an estuary of the gulf, from whose shore the mission is about half a league distant, but on account of the winding of the stream among the hills the sea cannot be seen from the mission. It has a church of stone and mortar with a dome; and the sacristy and dwelling are of the same material and roofed with tule. There is no level place for the town and the houses are on the slope of the hill, behind the church and the father's dwelling." Thus Francisco Palóu reporting in 1772.[1]

[1] Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California,* tr. of Palóu, *Noticias de la Nueva California,* University of California Press, Berkeley, I, 197.

Here from 1705 the Jesuits labored until 1768 when Franciscans took up the work. These in turn were replaced by the Dominicans in 1773, who remained at this isolated post into the mid-nineteenth century. Fortunately for a chapter of the history of Lower California the record book of the mission still exists. Entitled *Libro de difuntos y casamientos,* it carries the registry of marriages and deaths from October, 1718, when it was begun by the Jesuit Sebastián de Sistiaga, to 1845 when it was concluded by the Dominican, Ignacio Ramírez de Arellano. The first entrance records a marriage. So does the last almost a century and a half later.[2]

From these records, as from a photograph, the man of the mid-twentieth century can view the unrolling story of a Lower California mission with all its human vicissitudes of plague, sickness and death; of spiritual success in baptisms and Christian marriages; of a modest prosperity in material things (as much as this sterile peninsula could afford), in herds of cattle and flocks of sheep, in some decoration of church and furnishing of father's house. There was literary culture here too as may be seen in the catalogue of books of the mission library.

Here in 1705 Basaldúa pioneered, building his little church and house, digging a ditch for the irrigation of his meager crops and planting corn and wheat on a level run of land just above the mission. The pioneer Black Robe labored here for three years when, his health failing, he was sent across to the mainland where he worked in the Yaqui missions. He never forgot his first love, however, and from the other side of the gulf he continued sending supplies to Santa Rosalía until it was able to become self-supporting. Pícolo succeeded Basaldúa. Under him there was progress. It was noted that the Indians of the vicinity took easily to the Spanish language, many became adepts in it, and were often used as interpreters for their Cochimí tribesmen of farther north.[3]

In 1718, the year after Salvatierra's death, there came to Santa Rosalía one of the greatest of its missionaries, Sebastián de Sistiaga. Salvatierra had already cast an eye upon the young Sistiaga who was born in Oaxaca in Mexico and who had been teaching literature in Mexico City in one of the Jesuit colleges. When at Salvatierra's death in Guadalajara his companion and secretary Jaime Bravo took

[2] This precious document is the property of the Jesuit Novitiate at Los Gatos, California. It was the gift of Mr. Charles Dutton Terry of Kewanee, Illinois, who presented it to the Novitiate through his son, Thomas Dutton Terry, S.J.

[3] Gerardo Decorme, S.J., *La Obra de los Jesuitas Mexicanos,* Mexico, 1941, ii, 494.

over the affairs of the mission he contacted Sistiaga and found that he was willing and ready to go back with him to California. This he did early in 1718, going immediately up to his new assignment, the mission of Santa Rosalía Mulegé Calamañija.[4]

For over thirty years Sistiaga was destined to be a pillar of the California foundations. Best of all, Sistiaga began a record book of his mission with its various *visitas* and numerous *rancherías*. He began it the year of his arrival, 1718, and it was destined to go down through the years with entries of all kinds until the last put down in 1845, long after the Jesuits had been expelled.

From this registry of an ancient mission of the West Coast there is gathered, as by many facets and focuses of light, an intimate knowledge of the affairs of the establishment. From the marriage record alone we learn of the growing influence of Sistiaga and consequently of Christianity. He began with only one marriage for his first year of 1718. The following year he had two, there are no entries for 1720, but in 1721 the Black Robe officiated at sixteen. The peak was reached two years later when marriages at the mission rose to fifty-four. From then on there is a decline and for the rest of the twenties the yearly average is ten. We see how the padre used his neophytes who were already married in the Christian manner as witnesses for later ceremonies, for the same names were written over and over again into the record. Salvador Dabava appears frequently. There was a family of these Dabavas, for the names of Bernardo and Joseph come up also as witnesses. Joseph was married November 6, 1719, and his brother Salvador on April 19, 1721. In spite of the apparently Spanish names these people were Indians. Joseph was born in Kamagalajá, one of the *rancherías* belonging to the jurisdiction of Santa Rosalía. Angel Comanayi was married in January, 1721, and was then used as witness for later unions. Salvador Guamaayi and his brother Isidro were faithful friends of their padre for their names appear repeatedly as marriage witnesses.

The missionaries always set down the residence of the persons being married and here the historian is able to gather a large variety of perfectly barbarous names and incidentally to understand the number of *rancheriás* or Indian villages which had been reached and evangelized by the missionary. There was a marriage in May, 1721, in which the bride, Michaela Amagamá, hailed from Kawilimán

[4] A variant spelling and the one often used by the missionaries was Kamaangalàhà.

Gamá, and her spouse, Salvador Guagalá, from San Marcos. This name of San Marcos tells of what constantly happened in the missions both of Lower California and the mainland: the *rancherías* were gradually given Christian names or Spanish names. Salvador, *el de Zacatecas,* was a frequent witness. Eventually the Christian names of villages become more numerous and, besides San Marcos, we read of San Baltázar, San Patricio, San Vicente, Santa Lucía, Santa Agneda, Santa Wimpha, San Lucos, Los Angeles and San Felipe y Santiago. The last named was in honor of the early Christian martyrs called in English Philip and James. The *ranchería* called Kadawasuet in Cochimí became the more sonorous Santa Isabel and Kaelamajá became San Baltázar. But the Indian place names in these records, both of marriages and of deaths, remain the most numerous. Among those more frequently mentioned are Wakaká, Kawilliman Gamá, Kamakaaman, Gaama Gamán, Yagael, Kahellopú, Amedil Kaaman, Kaminaká, Laelopó, Kamangalaja and Kawiliman Gamá. La Punta frequently occurs or La Punta de Baiia, Punta de Kaiwalón.[5]

We discover that in the better organized *rancherías,* which we may call pueblos, such as Santa Agneda, records of baptisms were kept and we conclude that chapels had been built in such villages. Sistiaga in his marriage record for October 26, 1722, makes the human but revealing entrance: "On October 26 were married . . . Sebastián Wahagana and Juana Amawayahá of Santa Agneda and their names appear in the baptismal record of Santa Agneda, but they say that she is from Santa Lucía and that he is from Santa Agneda." Pablo, the Captain of Santa Agneda, appears often as witness to a marriage. He was present at the wedding above alluded to, while the other witnesses were Joseph, Governor of Mulegé, and the oft-mentioned Salvador, "el de la Punta." Other witnesses were picturesque enough in their designations. There was Wamai, the Captain of Santa Lucía; there was Padro Damai, fiscal of Santa Lucía; there was Ignacio Wahamayí, Captain of Kawillimán, and the previously mentioned Pablo Wahayawhén, Captain of Santa Agneda. During the record year for marriages, that of 1723, over

[5] More than eighty such names of *rancherías* can be counted in the early years of the record including such gems as Kamanndoluilkaakan, Kahallebiaganae, Namaganá Kaaman, Ideloquitakahel, Gabacamanini and Paaka! The missionaries in order to designate the right accents and intonations used various marks over the words: the tilde, a straight line, a "u", or the accent "'" over vowels, especially at the end. In recording these names we have used over the vowels, especially when it is "a", the usual Spanish accent. Linguists will say that probably these words were all accented on the last syllable.

and over again the recipients of the sacraments resided in Santa Agneda or in Santa Lucía. These evidently were the more populous and Christian pueblos. When we see that Indian governors, captains and fiscals were thus used by Sistiaga and his successors as aids in the religious ceremonies we understand that the Black Robes were carrying out in these missions of the peninsula the same organization as that of the mainland, giving the Indians themselves authority over their pueblos. Such organization was not original with the Jesuits. The kings of Spain and the viceroys set this up in practice from the early years of the conquest.[6]

If 1723 was a good year for Sistiaga in the number of marriage unions he was able to bless, it was in another way unfortunate in the numerous deaths which occurred in his mission. Whereas during his first years there were very few whose demise he had to record, for instance four in 1718, and the same number the next two years, in 1722 the number rose to thirteen and the following year it jumped to one hundred and fifteen. Then it declined. It was during the early twenties that many of the missions were visited by plague and here we have the actual results of the pest recorded.

Judging from the marriage registry, Sebastian de Sistiaga rounded out eight years in this mission of Santa Rosalía Mulegé. His first entrance into the record is of October 22, 1718, and his last of October 20, 1726.

Another name now creeps into the register, that of Juan María de Luyando, who makes the first entrance of a marriage a year after that of his predecessor, October 24, 1727. Luyando was the famous founder of Mission San Ignacio to which he donated his whole patrimony and whose first missionary he became. Luyando continues here through five years, ending his entrance into the record on October 29, 1732. Thus while residing at San Ignacio Luyando kept an eye on Santa Rosalía. For three years after 1727 Luyando had ten marriages each year at Santa Rosalía. In 1731 there were no entrances and by the end of the following year Luyando is gone and Everardo María Hellén has taken his place. In July, 1733, there is one entrance by William Gordon; the following year four by Hellén who had returned.

This carries us to 1735, which was the spring after the serious revolt in the south when Lorenzo Carranco and Nicolás Tamaral were killed. During this period there were stirrings in the north

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[6] *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, Madrid, 1791, T. 2, lib. VI, tit. VII, "De los Caciquez," 245 ff.

also, so that Sistiaga, who was now superior (called visitor) of all the missions and resident in Loreto, ordered all his men south from the northern missions. This action is reflected in the record, for there are three entrances for 1735, all made by the illustrious Fernando Consag, but done in Loreto. Either he carried the record book with him, or, what is more likely, made the entrances after his return. The couples thus joined were Indians from Mulegé who had come south to be married by their padre. Pedro María Nascimbén enters the picture late in 1735 and remains with several interruptions until 1754, performing several marriages each year except in 1748 for which we find the simple entrance: "Año de 1748 no caso ninguno." During this long period Nascimbén was replaced from time to time. Once in the summer of 1737 by Andrés Xavier García and once again in the summer of 1746 by Joseph Gasteiger. Benno Ducru comes in for three entrances of marriage registration in 1754. Many of these later men lived to see their expulsion from Lower California in 1768 by order of Carlos III, King of Spain. Ducru was superior of all the missions at this time and he wrote an account of the tragedy which was later published.[7] The last names on the Jesuit record are Joachim Truxillo, Francisco Escalante and Julian Joseph Salazar. The last Jesuit entrance was made by Escalante and is dated January 25, 1767.

November 3 of that year of 1767 Don Gaspar de Portolá, famed discoverer of San Francisco bay, arrived at Loreto in Lower California with orders from King Carlos III for the expulsion of the Jesuits. Father Ducru was summoned from Santa María de Guadalupe to Loreto where the sad news was communicated to him. He was ordered to call in all his men. It was February, 1768, before all the missionaries could be got in and gathered at Loreto. They departed early in that month. Franciscans to replace the Jesuits had already arrived on the coasts of California, but it took them time to get organized and to reach the various missions assigned them. Some, having embarked, were driven back by storms. We have the first sign of the change in our record book of Mulegé when Fray Juan Ignacio Gastón in January, 1769, entered the notice of the death of one of his neophytes. Gastón, however, had arrived in

[7] *Relatio expulsionis Societatis Jesu ex Provincia Mexicana et maxime e California, A. 1767, cum aliis scitu signis noticiis.* Cf. Christopher von Murr, *Nachrichten von verschienenen Landern des Spanischen in America . . .*, Halle, 1809, 389–496. The Jesuit signs his name Benno Ducru, not Ducrue, as in Von Murr. It is well known that other Black Robes of California wrote histories especially of the missions in which they worked, as, Pícolo, Sistiaga, Taraval, Gasteiger.

April the previous year.[8] He was followed by Fray Benito de la Sierra whose first entries into the register are of May, 1769.

In 1772 the Dominicans began to arrive in the peninsula to replace the Franciscans who were needed north to expand their mission field in Alta California. A group of Dominicans went to Mulegé in May, 1773, to take over the missions of the northern region. In our record book under date of May 27, 1773, we read that Fathers Joaquín Valero and Antonio Luesma took charge of the mission of Santa Rosalía and began to look over the field. The entrances for both deaths and marriages continue with many a lacuna through the century and into the middle of the nineteenth. The last entrance is that of a marriage under date of May 10, 1845. It is unsigned, but the previous register is of January 22 of that year and is signed by Fray Ignacio Ramírez Arellano, who calls himself Misionario Apostólico.

Concerning the registry of the deceased, we have already mentioned the great leap in the record of the early twenties, when plague visited Santa Rosalía Mulegé. But at the end of that decade, in 1729, the Grim Reaper once again cut down and carried off many Christian souls in Lower California. In the mission of Santa Rosalía the number of Christian burials was fifty-eight, and of these twelve were in the small village of Kawilimán. For this year of epidemic there are touching entrances in the registry book. We have, for instance, the following: "During March word came that María de la Concepción Amayién died without confession because no one gave notice.—Sta. Lucía." Another entrance reads: "On the twenty-third [of July] died Ignacio in Magdalena after confession and anointing. He was from Kawilimán." And again: "In April word came that there had died during the epidemic Rosalía Manamal in the Cañada del Frijol without confession because no one sent word. They gave as an excuse that she had lived in another mission." These notices were made by Luyando, those of the early thirties by Father Hellén.

We have for 1738, when Pedro Nascimbén administered Santa Rosalía, that Laocadia Amaiawen "old and blind of San Baltásar died of cancer of the breast rather suddenly on June 9 and she was

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[8] Bolton, *Historical Memoirs*, I, 197. The three periods, the Jesuit, the Franciscan, the Dominican, are covered by Zephyrin Engelhardt, O.F.M., *The Missions and Missionaries of California*, Mission Santa Barbara, California, Vol. I. A scholarly work on the Dominican period, about which little has been written, is that of Peveril Meigs, *The Dominican Mission Frontier of Lower California*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1935. The present writer is preparing a work on the Jesuit period.

buried here. A few days before she had made her confession." And for the same year we read that Andriana Wagalá of San Marcos was killed by being buried under the ruins of a fallen wall and that he was buried in San Marcos. For 1757 we have the following entrance: "On January 27 died Salvador Cisneros who was the husband of Miguela. He did not receive the last sacraments because they gave notice too late and although I travelled all night long I could not reach him in time. He was buried in the mission." Later that same year we learn that Teresa Amerlo died in La Bahia without the sacraments because they sent no word, but she had made her confession two days before. She was buried there where she had died. These were the registries of Father Joachim Truxillo. During the decade of the forties the deaths ran into a high figure, though the record of these years is not complete. Also after the end of the Jesuit period there are frequent lacunae in the record and some of the pages have been torn out.

After the Jesuits left the peninsula early in 1768, we have an entrance among the list of the deceased made in our record book at Mulegé by Fray Juan Ignacio Gastón and dated January, 1769. There has been a deletion and only the second part of his second entrance remains. His third is dated January 16. His successor De la Sierra makes his first entrance on the twenty-second. It was a bad year for the mission because by its end there had been sixty-six Christian burials. De la Sierra's signature recurs until May, 1773, the end of the Franciscan period at Mulegé. The Dominican Luesma has a death entrance for July 12. After the passing of decades the last entrance is signed by Fray Juande Mata Martínez and is dated September 16, 1839. Two Franciscans signed the records between 1769 and 1773 while between 1773 and 1845 the signatures of forty Dominicans are here. Three times the province was visited by *el Presidente Vicario Provincial Foráneo*. In 1782 and 1787 the visitation was made by Miguel Hidalgo and in 1803 by Rafael Arviña.

Even after the Jesuit period the name of Sistiaga was carried on. The later neophytes never forgot, or were not allowed to forget, the name of the great father of the early seventeenth century. Thumbing through the record book we find that Sistiaga was a name given to many a Christian Indian. We have here, for instance, Stanislao Sistiaga, *adulto,* in a death record of February 24, 1770, signed by Fray Benito de la Sierra. Then there is Juan Ignacio Sistiaga buried on August 11, 1771, by De la Sierra. Fernando Sistiaga mar-

ried Guitería Merino in 1770 and there is another Fernando Sistiaga in a marriage registry of 1782. Then there is Juan Sistiaga, and Francisca, and so on. Neither were other former missionaries forgotten: we find here Saturnino Consag and Baltásar Bravo among the marriage records of 1770.—It was good and kind of the Franciscan fathers to allow this courteous remembrance of the old-time Jesuits, their predecessors.

From this record book of Santa Rosalía one disconcerting feature, which was common to all the missions including those of the mainland, becomes evident. The high percentage of infant mortality and the generally high death rate. The marriages were few, the deaths were many, and among the latter many were infants. Measles and smallpox (*viruelas y serampión*), introduced by the European, took their constant toll.[9] Later syphilis (*el mal gálico*) introduced its ravages of debility and death together with reduction of the birth rate. Although these figures are not to be found in the record book, Santa Rosalía at the end of the Jesuit period (1768) is computed to have held a population of 245 souls. By 1772 it had but 180. While births between 1768 and 1772 were only 48, deaths amounted to more than 120, so that during these years the mission lost more than thirty-two percent of its population.[10]

Professor S. F. Cook in his investigation concerning the ravages of disease among the Lower California Indians, gives the figure of those deceased at Santa Rosalía between 1768 and 1772 as 113. But our registry records 120 deaths from the beginning of 1769 through 1772. There is no record here for 1768. During the same period there are recorded only six marriages, though these figures are not complete since the years 1768 and 1769 are missing and probably part of 1770. So it is throughout this whole book of records: the number of deaths far exceeded that of the marriages. The record spells the gradual extinction of the California Indian.[11]

To return to the Jesuit period and to the most important missionary of Santa Rosalía, Sebastián Sistiaga. This energetic padre made a minute inventory of all the mission possessions and fortunately this likewise is in the record book. This portion is undated

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[9] Francisco A. Flores, *História de la Medicina en México desde la Época de los Indios hastala Presentes*, Mexico, 1886–1888, Vol. I, 112 ff.; also, Peter Masten Dunne, *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1940, 31 f.

[10] S. F. Cook, *The Extent and Significance of Disease among the Indians of Baja California, 1767–1773*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1937, 28.

[11] Unquestionably the gathering together of the Indians into mission pueblos speeded the spread of death.

and unsigned, but as it is in Sistiaga's handwriting and as he was head of the mission between 1718 and 1726 the inventory may safely be dated somewhere in those years. Here we learn of the articles which made up the paraphernalia of the church, of the missionary's house, of his library, his kitchen, and of the livestock which pastured on the mission fields.

As to the livestock belonging to mission Santa Rosalía Mulegé, we find according to Sistiaga's figures that there were 210 head of cattle, eighty-one horses which included mares and colts, and thirty-six mules and burros. Besides these animals there grazed on mission lands one hundred head of sheep and goats. There was one ox for plowing.[12] Then comes a list of articles for repairing, gardening, tilling and other domestic purposes: axes, hatchets, pruning knives, plows, plowshares, hoes, crows, goad sticks, saddles, cowboys' gear and the rest.[13]

Father Luyando continued the inventory of the mission's livestock during 1729 and 1730 and from these lists and the padre's remarks the reader gains a more intimate knowledge of the mission of Santa Rosalía. During these years the flocks and herds were not large, but they were sufficient to keep the inhabitants off the verge of starvation in case there should be a failure of the crops. The herd of cattle in 1729 was 278 head and twenty-seven had been branded that year. A flock of 232 sheep fed on the more gentle slopes. The mission possessed thirty-four tame horses, twenty-one mules, thirty-four breeding mares, twenty-nine colts and fillies, and twenty-nine burros. That year of 1729 Santa Rosalía had given to the younger mission of San Ignacio six tame horses and six mares "with the permission of the Father Visitor." Santa Rosalía had been able that year to make over to San Ignacio likewise twenty-six head of cattle and to the mission of Santiago south of Loreto thirteen head. Well could Santa Rosalía afford these gifts, for the following year Luyando recorded a herd of 358 cattle, 182 sheep and goats, seventeen mares and horses, and fifty burros. Zacatecas, which was a thriving pueblo of the mission, enjoyed at the beginning of the 1730's 235 head of cattle, which soon increased to 348 head. At San Baltázar the Indian captain of the pueblo cared for ninety-five sheep and seventy-nine hogs.

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[12] These figures are broken down in the record thus: cattle 210, saddle horses 14, horses fit for teams 15, colts 16, she mules 8, he mules 7, burros of various sizes 21.

[13] The list is broken down thus: cane-knives 3, pruning knives 2, plowshares 3, plows 4, hoe 1, iron crow 1, goadstick 1, small saddles 2, large saddles 2, new sets of cowboys' gear 4, old sets 4, burro's outfit 2.

Herds were driven from one pueblo to another, doubtless for continued pasturage when previous ranges had given out. An entrance for 1732 informs us that a herd of fifty-five livestock, mostly mares and foals, were driven from Wamaahup to San Everardo, and in May of that year there was another transfer of mares and foals to San Patricio. In this year of 1732 there grazed in the pasturage of Santa Trinidad 123 livestock, mainly sheep and horses, and there were here thirteen hogs. These were the property of the head mission, Santa Rosalía. Santa Trinidad possessed its own livestock of sixty-one head, of these sixteen were sheep and forty-five were hogs. San Marcos had its own little herd of livestock, thirty head including twenty-one sheep, and it afforded grazing land for some of the stock of Santa Rosalía. Some of the mission's livestock were likewise pastured at San Patricio.

Animals were lost too and one reads of dangers to the mission herds. For instance, to quote the record directly: "May 21 [1732] a lion devoured five mares and four colts," and again at San Patricio a lion slew a colt. These beasts were the California mountain lion. The burly Father Ugrate of earlier mission days killed one of these animals with a rock and then brought it into his mission of San Javier, gaining thereby immense prestige with the Indians.

The entrances for 1731 and 1732 are made in the handwriting of Everardo Hellén who succeeded Luyando. He notes that in 1732 forty-four tame horses were pastured at San Patricio. Then with fine humor and some affection he speaks of the *bestias mulares* that were there. Like Bernal del Castillo describing the horses of the conquest in the expedition of Cortés, Father Hellén gives a name to each of the twenty-one mules and with affectionate humor he describes his favorites. One is called La Mona, another La Perinola, still another La Pita. Add to these La Baya, Amapola, Polverino, Pimpenella, Maracao, La Boca, Lotense, Malatovo, Golondrina, and Colorado. But one of these mules is called La Loca! The next to the last animal is described as *El vivillo para silla* and the last as *El regalo para silla.*[14]

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[14] The full list of names of burros (*bestias mulares*) is as follows: macho prieto (dun male), de la noria (of the well), anteojo (eye glass), chacaco [chacuaco] (clown), lagateada (bony) escaparate (show-case), polvernio (powder flask), malatovo (light red), pimpinelo (pimpernel), maracao (wildcat), la loca (crazy), cotense (gunny sack), amapola (poppy), golondrina (swallow), la baya (the berry), colorado (red). "These three are very old," says Hellén. Then come la mona (the monkey), la perinola (the neat little lady), la pita (the agave), el vivillo para silla (lively for the saddle), el regalo para silla (luxury for the saddle). The padre has used or omitted the article according to the above.

After a brief inventory of sacks for storing grain and of pots and cans, Hellén informs us concerning the provisions of the mission. Thirty-five fanegas of corn were stored in the sacristy of the church. There were likewise two and a half fanegas of chick-peas together with one fanega of beans and one of rice.[15]

Sistiaga, we know from his handwriting, set down here an inventory of the articles contained in his time (1718–1726) in church, house, and kitchen. Eighty-two items are listed for the church, thirty-five for the house, exclusive of the library, and thirteen articles for the kitchen. Luyando added several items here and there.

It would be tedious to go into the details of these lists. So far as the church is concerned we see enumerated those articles which were common to all churches and chapels requisite for the divine service: for Mass, benediction, and the administration of the sacraments. Certain details tell us something about the size and commodity of the church. For instance, there were five altars, three large ones and two small, and there were four chalices each with its paten.[16] There were six crucifixes of various sizes of wood and bronze, two statues, one of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the other of Santa Rosalía, besides an image of the Infant Jesus. There were five little bells, two big missals, a Roman ritual, and a baking iron for making hosts. Besides this there were sets of vestments for celebrating Mass including chasubles of six different colors, albs, palls, purificators, and a cope. There were veils and cloths for Sunday usages, some to adorn the statues (*dos camisas de la virgen*), others to decorate the altar. For the altar there were frontal pieces of different colors. There were prints in copper of Santa Rosalía, of Loyola and Xavier, and paintings of these and other saints. Luyando added, among other things, "a new ornament of white, earrings of pearls and glass beads, and on the reverse side green" (*sic*), and a pearl which came from Acapulco. Hellén puts at the end of this list "a reliquary of silver with a piece of the bones of Santa Rosalía. Father Francisco María Pícolo gave it."

On the margin of this church inventory is a note made by Juan

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15 A fanega was approximately 1.60 bushels. These statistics and those which follow are found near the last quarter of the book. None of the pages is numbered. We write Hellén's name as he himself spelled it. Often it is found with but one "l".

16 This in sharp contrast to some churches in thirteenth century England where upon an official visitation certain churches in Kent were found to be without any chalice. John R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, London, Cambridge University Press, 151 f.

Ignacio Lastón, the Franciscan who after the expulsion succeeded Father Escalante, last Jesuit missionary at Santa Rosalía. The marginal note is signed by Lastón and is dated May 2, 1768. "This inventory," says he, "is of the time of the Jesuit fathers and appears to belong to the first years of the foundation of the mission according to what can be concluded from the following reflections." Then he states that various of the articles listed by Sistiaga are no longer in the church, "for instance only two chalices are here now. [The inventory] says there are four, but there are no more than two, and so of other things." The chalices and some of the other articles may well have been given to other and newer foundations, just as the animals were donated by Santa Rosalía to San Ignacio and Santiago.

From the church we move over to the furnishings of the father's house. Thirty-five entries were made here by Sistiaga, seventeen were added by Luyando, and one by Hellén. Here we read of the luxuries of the missionaries. There was a large chest in which the treasures of the church were kept. There were various other kinds of chests or trunks, some of which were evidently used to store chocolate. There was an old writing desk, a good table, a stool, three charcoal containers, irons for making bread, various carpenter's tools, such as a saw, a chisel, a plane, pincers, an augur, and two hatchets. There was a pair of soles for sandals or shoes, irons for the canoe and gear for its rudder, two china plates, two china cups, two spoons (one of silver), two bronze andirons, two mason's trowels, and a pencil. Nowhere is mention made of a bed!—The padres at Santa Rosalía seem to have been poor enough.

No inventory of the mission's belongings was made during the long Dominican period, but Francisco Palóu in 1772 reports to the Franciscan Guardian concerning the state of the mission at that time. There was no town about the mission, reported Palóu, but forty-six families lived here comprising 180 souls. The mission had fallen to poor estate, for in 1770 a flood destroyed the dam of Río Mulegé, ruining at once much of the fertile soil which it covered with sand and depriving the mission of water for irrigation. Palóu considered Mulegé poor in grain and in tame cattle. Still, the mission possessed at the date of this report "nine gentle oxen, two saddle-oxen, seven cows, six bull calves and five heifers; of sheep it had 447; of goats 664; of gentle horses fifteen, most of them old and unserviceable; fourteen pack mules and four saddle mules; three brood mares; of mustangs very many although they cannot be rounded up to be

counted; of wild cattle there are even more, which, on account of the lack of horses, cannot be rounded up for killing."[17]

After the flocks and herds of the mission the most interesting list for the mid-twentieth century reader is the catalogue of books contained in the mission library. Fifty-seven items are given here. There was a copy of the bible, one of the new testament, and various sets of breviaries, for the padre must daily recite the divine office. Of these one was old and used and was bound in a single volume, two were in four sections, another in two. There was a little volume condensing and explaining papal documents; a book of instructions for confessors by the famed Italian Jesuit preacher of the seventeenth century, Father Seneri; an epitome of the Jesuit institute, rules of the Order, a Roman martyrology, a book of meditations by Father Espinola, biographies of Saints Aloysius and Stanislaus, a volume of the Confessions of Saint Augustin, a volume of the letters of Xavier, one of the writings of Saint Bonaventure, another of those of Cardinal Bellarmine, and other works of piety and devotion. There is one intriguing item here: "Two large volumes of Padre Eusebio." Without the "padre" we should think immediately of Eusebius, the early Church historian. With the familiar "padre," we consider somebody more modern, a Jesuit who was much read. Could this have been a manuscript of the works of Eusebio Francisco Kino?

Fourteen works are of a more secular nature and show that these sequestered missionaries had an eye to keep up their classical and humanistic culture which they had got in their earlier Jesuit training. Here listed is a Latin dictionary, an epitome of history, two books of Latin prosody, the letters of Cicero, the works of Quintus Curtius, two volumes of the Roman poet Sallust, the poems of Horace, of Juvenal, and a volume of the verses of a certain Father Sarriebio. There is a book of tragedies, entitled "Of Flavia," and a book of the epigrams of Owen (*sic*). Luyando has added to this list the famous spiritual classic, which we would expect to find in every Jesuit library, "the book of the exercises of our holy father [Saint Ignatius] by Izquierdo," and there was another spiritual classic, the Imitation of Christ, entered as "The Works of Thomas a Kempis in a small volume." Still another book we would expect to find is "A catalogue of the Provinces of the Company," namely a Jesuit catalogue of members with the dates of birth, entrance, residence, and the rest.

One item because of its interest can be enlarged upon. It reads

[17] Bolton, *Historical Memoirs,* I 197 f.

thus: "Un Florilegio Medicinal del Ho. Estainefer." This is the well-known work of the famous Jesuit brother, Johann Steinheffer, who during the nineteenth century gained an international reputation for his knowledge of medicine. This Jesuit brother, native of Iglau in Moravia, was of the Bohemian province. After crossing the seas he was sent up north to the Tarahumar missions. When the city of Chihuahua was founded in 1709 the learned brother resided in the Jesuit house which had been established there. His book, *Florilegio Medicinal,* which we find listed among the fifty-seven volumes in the library of Santa Rosalía, was published in Mexico in 1712. That same year it saw publication in Amsterdam, again in Mexico in 1719, then in Madrid, and finally a third time in Mexico in 1889.[18] That Steinheffer's work was at Santa Rosalía is further demonstration of the importance with which it was regarded in that age. This entire catalogue of books informs the mid-twentieth century man that the far isolated Jesuits of the California missions had regard to their spiritual and also to their cultural well being.

The record book of Santa Rosalía closes with a long list of Indian names and the pueblos or *rancherías* where they lived, followed by the abbreviated name in columns of the early Jesuit missionaries. We find in most of the pages eight columns. In the first are names of neophytes, the first name Christian, the second barbarous; in the second is the abbreviated name of a missionary: Pícolo, Sistiaga, Luyando, Hellén, those apparently who had baptized the afore-listed Indians. The next column, sparsely filled out, is for the name of the padre who married these same Indians, while in the following five, each headed by a date from 1731 through 1735, are abbreviations of the months of the year. The yearly columns are not completely filled. The months given here inform us, according to the best guess, that the listed Indians received the sacraments of confession and communion in the listed months of the respective years. March, the month of lent, is the oftenest recorded, which would seem to confirm our guess. There are five pages of such lists and columns—and with this ends the record book of Santa Rosalía Mulegé.

From the year of the beginning of this book, *Libro de Casamientos y Difuntos,* to its end (1717-1845) great waves of human events roared over the civilization of the West. There broke upon history the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the South Ameri-

[18] Carlos Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* Paris, 1890, VII, 1537.

can wars and revolutions, the two phases of the Mexican revolution for independence. Then came Mexico's internal troubles: Iturbide, the constitution of 1824, Gómez Faría and his move to secularize the missions, the constitution of 1836, Santa Anna with his goings and his comings and his *Plan de Tacubaya.*—Hardly a ripple of these roaring breakers seem to have reached the isolated shores of Lower California and the mission of Santa Rosalía. With pace unperturbed and in the quiet and perhaps monotonous serenity of an ancient mission pueblo, Indians continued to be born, and then to be baptized, married, and buried by their padre. When the register ends in 1845 Mexico, torn repeatedly by internal strife, had lost Texas and the following year it was to begin the process of losing Alta California and the vast territories of her North and Northwest. The last entry in our book, that of a marriage dated May 10, 1845, went unsigned. Why it was the last and why it went unsigned may nowhere be preserved in history's deeply colored record.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco.

Notes and Comments

The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States, by Fergus MacDonald, C.P., was published by The United States Historical Society, New York, 1946. The purpose of the study was "to trace the rise and eventual solution of the difficulty that faced the Catholic Church in the United States in the growth of the secret societies," according to Father MacDonald's preface to the interesting volume. The problem required an investigation into primary and secondary sources. The latter were meagre and inconsequential but the rich primary source material must have warmed the heart of the author. He had access to and made valuable use of university libraries and pertinent Archdiocesan Archives. There he found a great deal of interesting correspondence between leading Churchmen of the Nineteenth Century on secret societies. The material discovered was sifted and that which was used is well chosen and nicely worked into the plan of this historical study.

It is fortunate that this book has finally appeared. The relation between the Catholic Church and secret societies has been a "blind spot" among most people—Catholic and non-Catholic—for many years. Everyone knew that there was some sort of barrier between the two, but what it was, and why, brought forth only vague generalities even among Catholic scholars in many fields.

To some degree Father MacDonald ran into much the same problem as the Church encountered in evaluating these societies. The organizations were secret and obviously it was difficult to secure authentic information. Occasionally manuals, ceremonial booklets, and histories of the various secret organizations would become available but there was always a question as to whether such documents were accurate or whether the complete picture of the organization was given in such sources.

Surprisingly enough Masonry caused less trouble for Father MacDonald and, to some extent, less dispute among the Hierarchy in the Nineteenth Century than a number of other organizations. It was well known among Churchmen of course that Pope Clement XII had condemned Freemasonry in 1738. It is of interest to note that this action was taken because Freemasonry undermined belief in Christianity by setting up another religion based on deistic principles and also because of the solemn oath of secrecy with fearsome penalties attached to its violation. However there were some Catholics even among the high clergy who felt that there was a vast difference

between the Freemasonry of Europe condemned in 1738 and Masonry of the Nineteenth Century America. Finally Pope Leo XIII in 1884 issued an encyclical letter to the Catholic World on the subject in which he gave a detailed analysis of the principles and practices of the Masonic order but his exposition applied almost exclusively to the continental variety of Freemasonry. The Masons had played an important role in the political upheavals of the Nineteenth Century in Europe and they had worked steadily against the interests of the Catholic Church. Leo XIII exposed the falsity of the philosophical principles upon which such activities were based. Thereafter and gradually so, all brands of Masonry were considered condemned by the Church.

The most interesting chapter of this monograph is the chapter on the Indecision of the Archbishops. The letters produced in this chapter show the concern among the Hierarchy over the problem of secret societies and the different opinions on how the problem should be solved. Secret societies were increasing rapidly and the Church realized that some definite action was necessary. However some Churchmen felt that more harm than good would result from hasty action. Meetings of the American Archbishops and Bishops discussed the problem in connection with particular societies but no general agreement was reached. The Archbishops in 1892 examined the case of the Odd Fellows, The Sons of Temperance and the Knights of Pythias. The group unanimously referred the whole matter to the Holy See. Two years later Rome settled the question when through Cardinal Satolli, the announcement was made that the prelates of the United States be notified that the faithful were to be kept from these three societies. The decree stated that the faithful themselves were to be warned about this matter and if after being warned they still remained in these societies, and were unwilling to leave them, they were to be deprived of the Sacraments. The question had been settled by the Holy See and future cases of societies would be determined by elucidation of fixed legislation.

Father MacDonald closes the case of the secret societies, at least as far as the Catholic Church is concerned, in a manner closely related to a summary. "Because of the nature of the problem and the difficulty of securing accurate information on hidden societies, it had taken a very long time to reach a solution. But it had finally come in 1894. The problem that had troubled the American bishops for a century was at an end."

RAY J. KELLEY

DuBay: Son of Oshkosh, by Merton E. Krug, was published by the Nelson Publishing Company, Appleton, Wisconsin, 1946. It has an introduction by Marvin B. Rosenberry, Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, and a foreword by the late Walter S. Goodland, former governor of Wisconsin, who states that "The book has especial significance as a portrayal of the procedure of trying a French-and-Indian half-breed before an early Wisconsin bar of justice."

This book is not a biography of DuBay, but a narrative of one episode in his life, his trial for murder in 1857. Jean Baptiste DuBay or Dubé, half French, half Menomonee Indian, was a pioneer in central Wisconsin, a hunter, treaty-maker, interpreter, linguist, lumberman, sawmill owner, steamboat and stage line operator, and agent for the American Fur Company. He shot and killed William S. Reynolds, who had begun building a house on land claimed by DuBay. The shooting occurred near the Indian Agency House at Portage. The major portion of the volume is taken up by the journal of DuBay's first trial, presented in its original form and compiled from three contemporary sources. An interesting feature of the trial is the roster of distinguished citizens who testified for the defence, among them James D. Doty, territorial governor of Wisconsin, Hercules L. Dousman of Prairie du Chien, the merchant, land speculator, lumberman, and general agent for the American Fur Company, and Augustus A. Bird, Mayor of Madison in 1857. An effort was made by friends of the slain man to get the criminal code of Wisconsin altered so as to admit the death penalty.

ETHEL O. MERRILL

* * * *

The year 1946 has yielded at least five works on Abraham Lincoln. *A Shelf of Lincoln Books: A Critical, Selective Bibliography of Lincolniana,* by Paul M. Angle, published by Rutgers University Press, is a trustworthy list of eighty-one books carefully appraised, of which seventeen are biographies. *The Riddle of Lincoln's Religion,* by R. D. Packard, is a pamphlet on a worn but interesting subject, from which it may be concluded that Lincoln was no atheist, non-believer, nor agnostic, but a deist. *Lincoln's Other Mary,* by Olive Carruthers and R. Gerald McMurtry, published by the Ziff-Davis Publishing Company of Chicago, is on the novel side; Miss Carruthers writes the fictional narrative, while the co-author presents the documents. *Lincoln and the South,* by James G. Randall,

published by Louisiana State University Press, is a series of four lectures stressing Lincoln's southern leanings and derived from the author's authoritative *Lincoln the President.* These works are reviewed in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for September 1946, in whose last pages one can find two interesting letters written from Washington just after the assassination of Lincoln by an eyewitness. Finally, there is *Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man: Mathew B. Brady,* by Roy Meredith, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, a collection of historical and literary errors illustrated with 135 remarkable pictures.

* * * *

Diary of a Trip from New York to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1845, Edited by Stanley Pargellis and Ruth Lapham Butler, published for the Newberry Library by the University of Chicago Press in 1946, is a pleasingly formed little book of a hundred pages. The author of the diary was Nathaniel Fish Moore, the president of Columbia College of New York. It is the first known journal of any native American "unalloyed tourist." From the Editors' introduction we gather that the man, a scholar and traveler, was rather fed up with managing a college and sought escape in the expansive western lands. Definitely out to see the sights, he makes an interesting story of his trip out west.

* * * *

We must call attention to a publication of last year by James C. Malin. It is entitled *Essays on Historiography.* It is lithoprinted from the typed pages, which number 188, and is obtainable from the author at his home address, 1541 University Drive, Lawrence, Kansas. There are four essays in the work: "The Turner-Mackinder Space Concept of History," which is an amplification of Mr. Malin's earlier writing on the subject; "N. S. Shaler on the Frontier Concept and the Grassland," points to a need for a correlation between the Shaler concept and the Turner legend; "Science and the Social Theory," takes up cudgels against the intrusion of pure and practical scientists into the field of social science; and "Certainty and History," a discussion on how far certainty is attainable, especially during times of public and academic indoctrination periods. This is definitely a book for study and has the advantage of having been written in a clear, brittle style. In his preface Mr. Malin give a concise reason for his decision to incorporate the fourth essay. This

grew out of the deplorable incident of the 1944 business meeting of the American Historical Association when the attempt was made to disbar Mr. Hayes from the presidency of the Association.

* * * *

A book with an enormous chronological coverage is *Prohibition in North Carolina,* 1715–1945, by Professor Daniel Jay Whitener. This appeared in 1946 as Number 27 of The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science published under the direction of the Departments of History and Political Science of the University of North Carolina. It is packed with information and bibliographical references yet it emerges in a pattern. This pattern appears in the concluding or summary chapter with whose opening, very general sentence no one will quarrel since it could be applied to any State of the Union: "The control of alcoholic liquors has been one of the most difficult problems ever to confront the people of North Carolina." The reasons follow. Dr. Whitener has thus established a procedure for research along similar lines in many commonwealths and localities.

* * * *

Daughters of Charity in Milwaukee, 1846–1946, by Peter Leo Johnson, Professor of Church History, St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, is a general review of the fine contribution of the well-known hospital Sisters to the Wisconsin metropolis. The work is done with sympathy and care befitting the one hundred years of devoted labor of this sisterhood in hospitals and orphanages.

* * * *

For thirty-three years Laval University of Quebec has been publishing *Le Canada Français,* a monthly magazine devoted chiefly to religious subjects of French Canada. In June the last number appeared. In September, 1946, a new periodical made its appearance under title of *La Revue de L'Université Laval,* Organe de la Société du Parler français au Canada. It will continue the program of its predecessor but will widen its scope to include articles of professors outside the University and articles of world-wide interest. We wish it all success.

A very commendable feature has been added to the section of historical notes and comments in the *Missouri Historical Review* for October, 1946. This is a list of graduate theses and doctoral dissertations relating to Missouri and accepted during 1944–1945 sessions at the University of Missouri, St. Louis University, and Washington University. We have long hoped that an annual booklet would be produced listing the titles and authors of theses and dissertations over the country. Steps in this direction have been undertaken at times but with no consistency. A brief of each manuscript thus catalogued would be of great service to many directors of historical research and it might reveal publishable studies to societies, historical quarterlies, institutes and even philanthropic individuals.

* * * *

It is good to see the *Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique* once more in the mail and to know that the back files of the war period are available. The second, or bibliography number of the 1946 volume has a list of 4,205 books and articles published since 1939 but not previously listed.

* * * *

Nathan Schachner, author of *Alexander Hamilton* which appeared in 1946, has an article in *The William and Mary Quarterly* for April, 1947, entitled "Alexander Hamilton Viewed by His Friends: The Narratives of Robert Troup and Hercules Mulligan." In this Schachner gives a critical estimate of the accounts of Hamilton's early life written by Troup and Mulligan, his friends, before presenting the two narratives. Both friends practically idolized Hamilton, Troup by reason of his lifelong association with him and Mulligan because of an immediate interest in the fifteen year old Hamilton recently arrived from the West Indies.

* * * *

The sixty-ninth volume of the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* Volume 3 of the *Monumenta Missionum,* was published last year at Rome by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. It is *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae (1566–1572),* edited with an introduction of 109 pages by Felix Zubillaga, S.J. There are 144 letters and other docu-

ments relating to Florida and the attempt of the Jesuits to missionize the vast southeastern area known by that name. The editing is well done, though there remain some printing mistakes besides those in the table of *errata.* In presenting the materials Father Zubillaga follows the procedure of giving the date of the document, its provenance, a summary of topics covered in it, and authors who have used it. The preface, introduction, and footnotes are in Latin. Some of the letters are prefaced by biographical sketches or other descriptive material, and where letters for the Jesuit period of Florida history are known to have been written and are known to be lost Zubillaga states these facts. This volume may well be considered a notable contribution to the early history of the southeastern portion of the United States.

* * * *

Our congratulations are extended to *The Historical Bulletin* on its twenty-fifth anniversary. The May, 1947, number is the silver anniversary issue, in which may be found an editorial reviewing the history of the magazine from its inception. In tendering felicitations we express our hope that the *Bulletin* will continue its good services for many years to come.

* * * *

Root and Branch is the title of the annual brochure published by Marygrove College, Detroit. This symposium is the eighth of a series that is outstanding as a collaborative work of college students. Twenty writers make their contribution on the general theme of the perpetual timeliness of the early Church Fathers. Each article is based upon the writings of the early Church Fathers with respect to human relations. An ample bibliography of secondary works of some two-hundred works is in the last pages. Statesmen, professors, labor leaders, and all classes of society could well profit by a reading of these simple statements of a fundamental philosophy based upon justice and charity. A few of the chapter titles indicate the area covered by the basic principles: "Christian Leisure," "Family Relationships," "Teacher and Student," "Wealth, a Stewardship," "The Dignity of Labor," and "Equal Justice for All."

The Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas has published the papers read at a conference held in April, 1946, under the title *Some Economic Aspects of Postwar Inter-American Relations.* The papers have to do with resources, population trends, economic relations, petroleum, industries, trade problems, agriculture, and the effects of industrialization on relations between the United States and Latin America. Professor Erich W. Zimmermann uses the resources of Latin America for a study in methodology, in which he amplifies his functional theory of resources. He states (p. 8), "In developing my theory, I have had to coin some phrases, borrow phrases from other disciplines, and give new meanings to words in use." From this point on the muddlement begins.

MID-AMERICA

An Historical Review

VOLUME 29, NUMBER 4 OCTOBER 1947

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VOLUME 29 NEW SERIES, VOLUME 18 NUMBER 4

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Financing the Illinois Internal Improvements

Hampered by meager resources, the state of Illinois had accomplished little more in internal improvements prior to 1836 than to declare certain streams navigable and to lay out roads without improving them. Although an Illinois and Michigan canal had been long considered, construction was not undertaken until credit became available during the boom of the 'thirties. With the advent of railroad building in eastern states, proposals for the construction of railroads by chartered companies were begun in Illinois as early as 1829. The inability of the corporations to raise money and the feeling then prevailing throughout the country that transportation monopolies should not be placed in the hands of private companies led to a demand for state construction of internal improvements. Adoption of public works programs in other states created a fear among Illinoisans that they might be outstripped in economic progress. These are some of the factors which induced the state of Illinois to undertake an extensive system of internal improvements far too costly for her resources, but most important of all was the optimism engendered by the speculative spirit and easy credit of the boom.

The speculative boom developed first in Illinois at Chicago, and resulted in building up that place from a mere trading post into a city of several thousand inhabitants in three or four years. A sleepy village was suddenly transformed into a bustling city. Scores of new buildings were put up every month.[1] The stories of sudden fortunes circulating in the east brought an influx of strangers in

[1] *Chicago Democrat*, June 18, 1834.

excess of the city's living accommodations. A scarcity of provisions sent prices sky-rocketing. The mad scramble for town lots caused them to double and even triple in price during the course of a few months. For example, lots which sold for $9,000 early in 1835 were held for $25,000 by the end of the year.[2] Few people bought for cash or with the idea of placing a building on the lot; their one aim was but to resell at a greatly advanced price.

All parts of the state were soon affected by the speculative spirit. The rapid development of Chicago inspired emulation by other towns, and resulted in the plotting of new towns all over the state. Public land sales in Illinois increased at an astounding rate. From 354,010 acres entered in 1834, the amount increased to 2,096,623 acres in 1835, and to 3,199,703 acres in 1836.[3] Only a small part of the purchases were made by actual settlers. Speculators bought the land with the idea of reselling it to emigrant farmers or of plotting it into towns and disposing of the lots at public sale. Frequently, maps of the new towns were taken to eastern cities and auction sales of lots held far from the place of location. In many cases a few buildings were erected in such boom towns only to be abandoned when the depression came. An account of all the dead towns of Illinois which lived for a short time during the 'thirties would make a voluminous and very interesting chapter in the state's history.

The internal improvements undertaken by the state were not so hastily conceived as is generally thought. Practically every improvement had behind it a history of some length. The idea of an Illinois and Michigan canal had been suggested as early as 1810 by Peter B. Porter of New York in a report made to Congress in which he outlined a plan for connecting the West with the eastern seaboard along the Great Lakes-Hudson river route by a series of canals.[4] River improvement was not new to Illinois. The leading railroads of the internal improvement system had been discussed for several years, and various attempts had been made for their construction by private companies. Government construction of internal improvements came about only after private companies failed to raise the required capital and credit became easily available to the state as a result of the boom.

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[2] *Chicago American*, Aug. 15, 1835; Jan. 2, 1836.

[3] Theodore C. Pease, *Centennial History of Illinois*, II, *The Frontier State, 1818–1848*, Springfield, 1918, 177.

[4] *Annals of Congress*, 11 Cong., 2 Sess., II, 1388–1393.

The act providing for the construction of the Illinois and Michigan canal was passed by the legislature on January 9, 1836.[5] It provided that the governor was to negotiate a loan of $500,000 reimbursable in 1860, with interest at six per cent payable annually, and "the faith of the state was irrevocably pledged for the payment of the stock thus created and the interest accruing thereon." Additional funds were to be raised by the sale of canal lands granted to the state by the national government in 1827.[6] The money borrowed, the premiums arising from the sale of bonds, the proceeds from the sale of canal lands, and all revenue arising from the canal, were to constitute a fund to be used for canal purposes.

A board of three canal commissioners, to be appointed by the governor with the advice of the senate, was created. The commissioners, removable for cause, were to hold office until January 1, 1837, after which they were to be appointed biennally as the legislature should direct. Governor Joseph Duncan appointed a canal board consisting of General William F. Thornton of Shelby county as president, Colonel Gurdon S. Hubbard of Cook county as treasurer, and William B. Archer of Clark county as the acting commissioner. The senate approved the appointments on January 13, 1836.[7]

No difficulty was experienced in obtaining funds for the canal during the first year. In January, Governor Duncan secured a loan of ten thousand dollars at six per cent interest from the State Bank of Illinois.[8] This amount was sufficient to meet all necessary expenses prior to the sale of canal lands in June, when the bank was reimbursed in principal and interest. Of the $500,000 loan authorized by the canal act, Governor Duncan negotiated $100,000 in New York at a premium of five per cent, which he thought too low and declined a larger amount at that rate.[9]

The sale of lots in Chicago and Ottawa had much different re-

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[5] *Laws of Illinois*, 1836, 145–154.

[6] In the act of Mar. 2, 1827, Congress granted the state one-half of the land to a depth of five sections on each side of the projected canal, reserving each alternate section for the United States. *United States Statutes at Large*, IV, 234.

[7] *Journal of the Senate of the State of Illinois, 1835–1836*, 294–295. This will be cited hereafter as *Senate Journal*.

[8] *Report of the Canal Commissioners of Illinois to Governor John R. Tanner, 1900*, Springfield, 1901, 113. This report contains a documentary history of the Illinois and Michigan canal from 1822 to 1848.

[9] He sold the remaining $400,000 in 1837. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, 1836–1837*, 15. This will be cited hereafter as *House Journal*.

sults than an earlier attempt made to dispose of them in 1830.[10] As noted above the real estate market in Chicago was in the midst of an extraordinary boom which the prospect of an early construction of the canal served to intensify. A sale held at Chicago on June 20, resulted in the disposal of 415 lots, many of which brought a substantial amount above the valuation.[11] Of these, forty were forfeited because the purchaser failed to make the first payment under the terms of sale which provided for one-fourth cash and the residue in three annual installments bearing six per cent interest, payable annually, in advance. After deducting for forfeitures, the sale amounted to $1,355,755, one-fourth of which, together with a year's interest on the other three-fourths, was paid to the treasurer of the canal commissioners and by him deposited in the branch of the State Bank of Chicago. The sale at Ottawa took place on September 26, when seventy-eight lots were offered and all sold for a total of $21,358, more than $2,000 in excess of the valuation. The cash received, amounting to $6,300.65, was deposited in the bank to the credit of the canal fund.

The State Bank made possible the large sale of lots by granting the purchasers liberal loans for making the first payment. Thus even the cash payment in many instances was made with borrowed money. Many purchasers found themselves in difficulty when the next installment came due on account of the tightening of the money market, and the generally unsettled financial conditions in 1837 prevented further borrowing from the State Bank or from other sources.[12]

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[10] An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1830 to finance the construction of the canal by the sale of town lots and canal lands. The towns of Chicago and Ottawa were laid out and public sales held at Springfield on Apr. 19, 1830, and at Chicago on Sept. 27, 1830, to dispose of the lots; *Illinois Intelligencer*, Apr. 10, 1830; *Kaskaskia Democrat*, June 30, 1830; *Illinois Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1830. Seven lots in Ottawa sold for $162, 124 lots in Chicago for $4,357, and 10,746.17 acres of land for $14,405.83. Thus less than $19,000 was obtained at these sales; *Report of Canal Commissioners, 1900*, 87.

[11] *Illinois State Register*, May 27, Aug. 12, 1836; *Sagamo Journal*, July 9, 1836; *Reports made to the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Illinois, 1836–1837*, report of the board of canal commissioners, Dec., 1836, 12.

[12] On June 15, 1837, the Board of Canal Commissioners issued an order that they would accept only specie and the notes of specie paying banks in payment of credits due the canal fund. Reprint from the *Chicago American* in the *Sangamo Journal*, July 1, 1837. This order made it impossible for purchasers of canal lands to make their payments since virtually all western banks had suspended specie payments in May when the panic swept the country. Consequently, the legislature, meeting in a special session, passed an act on July 21 for the relief of those in default of their payments.

On March 2, 1837, the legislature passed an act supplementing the canal law of January 9, 1836.[13] The governor was authorized to negotiate an additional loan of $500,000, when advised of its necessity by the canal commissioners. Additional sales of Chicago lots were also to be undertaken to the amount of $1,000,000. The supplementary act further provided that the canal commissioners were to be elected by a vote of both houses of the legislature in joint session, and subject to its control, instead of receiving their appointment from the governor and being subject to his control, as had been their predecessors. The new board of canal commissioners, elected by the legislature on March 3, 1837, consisted of William F. Thornton, president, Jacob Fry, acting commissioner, and John A. McClernand, treasurer.[14]

The internal improvement act of February 27, 1837, providing for the construction of 1300 miles of railroads and the improvement of the larger rivers, created a board of three fund commissioners to handle the finances of the system. The commissioners, who were to be elected biennially by a joint vote of the general assembly, were empowered "to contract for and negotiate all loans authorized by the legislature on the faith and credit of the state for objects of internal improvements, on the best and most favorable terms," and "receive, manage, deposit, and apply all monies arising from such loans."[15] They were to make quarterly reports to the auditor of public accounts or to such other officer as the legislature might direct, and to appoint a secretary to keep a complete record of all their transactions. Each of the commissioners was allowed a compensation of five dollars per day for each day necessarily employed in the discharge of his duties. Before entering upon the duties of his office, each member of the board was to subscribe to an oath, and to furnish a bond to the amount of $50,000 as a pledge for the faithful discharge of his duties. The first board of fund com-

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The act provided that purchasers would not forfeit their lands when in default, if they could comply with the following conditions: On Oct. 1, 1837, pay all the interest then due upon their debts according to the terms of sale; on Oct. 1, 1838, and Oct. 1, 1839, pay the interest and ten per cent of the principal which may be due; and on Oct. 1 in each year thereafter, pay the interest and twenty per cent upon the principal in advance, until the whole sum due was paid. The canal commissioners were required to receive in payment of canal lots and lands sold, the bills and notes of the State Bank and the Bank of Illinois, and the bills and notes of any other banks in which canal funds were deposited. *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, Special Session, 9.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1837, 39–44.

[14] *Senate Journal*, 1836–1837, 612–615.

[15] *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, 121–122.

missioners, elected by the legislature on March 1, 1837, consisted of Charles Oakley, Moses M. Rawlings, and Thomas Mather.[16]

To finance the program of internal improvements the legislature authorized a loan of $8,000,000 to be made on a pledge of the state's credit.[17] The advocates of internal improvements had no doubt but that the system would pay for itself. They assumed that the state bonds would sell at a premium of about ten per cent and that the dividends would not only pay the interest on the bonds but would even yield a surplus.[18] The tolls on the roads when completed were expected to yield an income sufficient to meet the payments on the principal of the debt. It was alleged that the system would aid in multiplying the population and wealth of the state, that huge acreages of land would be sold and thus increase the land tax, a part of which could be used to pay the interest on the debt if the other sources of income should fail.

The seeming prosperity of the State Bank, which had declared a dividend of nine per cent in 1836, prompted the members of the legislature to make the banks useful to the state in its new undertaking. It was thought that if the state owned a large amount of the bank stock, the dividends could be used to finance the internal improvement projects. Accordingly, an act was passed on March 4, 1837, providing that the capital of the State Bank be increased $2,000,000, the stock to be subscribed by the state.[19] By the same act the capital stock of the Bank of Illinois located at Shawneetown was to be increased $1,400,000, of which $1,000,000 was reserved for the state and $400,000 for private subscriptions. The fund commissioners were authorized to negotiate a loan not exceeding $3,000,000 to enable the state to subscribe to the bank stock, when the banks should have notified the state of their acceptance of the increase in stock. The Bank of Illinois was given the privilege of establishing branches at Alton, Jacksonville, and Lawrenceville. Additional directors, five for the State Bank and nine for the Bank of Illinois, were to be elected by the legislature on behalf of the state.[20] This still left a majority of directors to the private stockholders,

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16 *House Journal*, 1836–1837, 787; *Senate Journal*, 1836–1837, 576.

17 *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, 137.

18 *House Journal*, 1836–1837, 202–215.

19 *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, 1822. The capital of the State Bank was increased from $1,500,000 to $3,500,000 and that of the Bank of Illinois from $300,000 to $1,700,000.

20 An act passed on Mar. 2, 1839, repealed the provision providing for election by the general assembly, and authorized appointment by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate. *Ibid.*, 233–334.

although the state owned more stock than did the private owners. The banks were made the fiscal agents of the state. All public revenues and the money borrowed by the fund commissioners to carry on internal improvements were to be deposited in these banks, who were to pay such interest on the deposits as they might agree upon with the fund commissioners. No charges for disbursement of the state funds were to be made by the state banks. The dividends accruing upon the stock held by the state were to be applied in payment of the interest upon loans made to the state to carry on internal improvements.[21] The banks were to give quarterly statements of their financial condition to the fund commissioners and reports to the general assembly at regular and called sessions.[22] Needless to say the banks accepted the proposal of the state for the increase in capital.[23]

When the internal improvement program was adopted the state had no funds on hand with which to begin work. On April 4, 1837, William Kinney, a member of the board of public works,[24] inquired of the fund commissioners what prospect there was of procuring funds to enable the board to begin construction on the various improvements.[25] A temporary loan of $20,000 was secured by the commissioners from the State Bank to make possible the undertaking of surveys without delay. The commissioners also drew an order on the auditor for $50,000.[26] Thus they were able to forward the first checks of $10,000 each to the members of the board of public works on April 15.[27]

The fund commissioners went to New York in May expecting to dispose of the internal improvement bonds at favorable terms. They advertised in several New York newspapers that bids would

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21 During the special session of July, 1837, the legislature passed a supplementary act providing that the bank stock was pledged to redeem any loan made for internal improvements. *Ibid.*, 1837, Special Session, 5.

22 *Ibid.*, 1837, 21.

23 Letter of N. H. Ridgely, cashier of the State Bank, to the fund commissioners, July 7, 1837, *Internal Improvement Records* (27 volumes, Illinois State Archives, Springfield) VIII, 5-6; Letter of Mather and Oakley to Levi Davis, state auditor, Dec. 1, 1837, *ibid.*, IX, 5.

24 The act of Feb. 27, 1837, created a board of commissioners of public works, consisting of seven members, one from each judicial district to be elected biennially by the general assembly meeting in joint session, for the purpose of promoting and supervising the various improvements, *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, 121.

25 Letter of Kinney to the fund commissioners, Apr. 4, 1837, *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 1.

26 Report of the fund commissioners to Levi Davis, state auditor, June 1, 1837, *ibid.*, IX, 3.

27 *Ibid.*, IX, 1.

be received for loans, and were much disappointed on the day set for the opening of bids to find that no offers were made.[28] On returning to Illinois, the commissioners found the State Bank willing to take 1765 bonds of $1000 each and the Bank of Illinois ready to take 900 bonds of the same denomination in exchange for the bank stock for which the state had not yet subscribed. $335,600 had been paid the banks, leaving the sum of $2,664,400 due on the $3,000,000 subscriptions which the state had promised.[29] Thus the 2,665 bonds of $1000 each would meet the amount due. The banks were allowed to dispose of the bonds at par.[30]

A second attempt to dispose of bonds in the New York market was more successful. The commissioners were able to make the following sales:[31]

Nicholas Biddle 1000 bonds of $1000 each.....$1,000,000
James Irvin 1000 bonds of $1000 each.....$1,000,000
Hall and Hudson 100 bonds of $1000 each.....$ 100,000
Boorman and Johnson 100 bonds of $1000 each.....$ 100,000

The last two sales were for cash on delivery of the bonds, and the first two were paid for at the rate of $150,000 per month. The sale of stock to Boorman and Johnson was made at a premium of five per cent.[32] A short time later four $1000 bonds were sold to a Lt. Levy.[33]

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[28] Report of the fund commissioners to Levi Davis, state auditor, Dec. 1, 1837, *ibid.*, IX, 5.

[29] At the 1836–1837 session of the general assembly a law was passed directing the governor to draw upon the treasurer for the surplus revenue which had been appropriated to the school fund in subscribing to the stock of the banks. In this way $235,600 had been subscribed to the State Bank, and $100,000 to the Bank of Illinois, a total of $335,600. *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, 18; *Reports General Assembly*, 1838–1839, report of the fund commissioners, Dec. 24, 1838, 1.

[30] The Bank of Illinois was able to sell its bonds, but the State Bank could not dispose of its bonds so that in reality it had little more liquid capital than it had before its capital was increased. *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 26, 1839.

[31] *Reports General Assembly*, 1838–1839, report of the fund commissioners, Dec. 1, 1838, 3; letter of Nicholas Biddle to the fund commissioners, Oct. 17, 1837, *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 23; report of the fund commissioners to Levi Davis, state auditor, Dec. 1, 1837, *ibid.*, IX, 5.

[32] In accordance with the agreement made with Boorman and Johnson on Oct. 13, 1837, $40,000 of these bonds were to be used in payment of railroad iron. The firm was to furnish iron two and one-fourth by five-eighths inches weighing twenty-two tons to the mile. The iron was to be delivered in three lots during 1838. One per cent was to be charged for commission and two and a half per cent for freight. *Ibid.*, VIII, 19–21, 24.

[33] *Reports General Assembly*, 1838–1839, report of the fund commissioners, Mar 5, 1838, 3.

The report of the fund commissioners made to the general assembly on December 24, 1838, showed that the internal improvement fund had received by that date: $477, 919.14 from the state treasurer, $4,869,000 from the sale of bonds, and $321,084.78 from premiums, dividends, and interest, amounting to a total of $5,668,003.92.[34] Disbursements made from the fund consisted of $3,000,000 for bank stock, $1,142,027.05 paid on drafts of the board of public works,[35] $144,700 paid to the counties in which no improvements had been made,[36] $292,250 for interest, $6,000 for salaries of the fund commissioners, $58,552.74 for iron and locomotives, and $4,870 for incidental expenses. The unexpended balance, amounting to $1,019,604.04, was on deposit in banks, and was drawing interest at the rate of six per cent. It was used by the banks like other similar deposits, and was paid upon the checks of the commissioners at any time and in such sums as they might choose to draw.

At the close of 1838 approximately one and a half million dollars had been raised on behalf of the Illinois and Michigan canal. The two loans authorized by the acts of January 9, 1836, and March 2, 1837, had yielded a return of $1,036,211.67.[37] Up to December

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[34] *Senate Journal*, 1838–1839, 108–109; *Reports General Assembly*, 1838–1839, report of the fund commissioners, Dec. 24, 1838, 2–8.

[35] The board of public works had expended this money as follows:

Illinois River	$ 5,100.00
Rock River	2,300.00
Kaskaskia River	2,279.37
Great Wabash River	2,316.00
Little Wabash River	3,799.76
Great Western Mail Route	94,932.07
Northern Cross Railroad	521,420.25
Central Railroad	200,516.57
Branch of Central Railroad	56,789.09
Peoria and Warsaw Railroad	83,370.84
Bloomington and Mackinow Railroad	43,075.72
Alton-Mt. Carmel and Alton-Shawneetown Railroads	126,516.57
	$1,142,027.05

[36] The act of Feb. 27, 1837, provided that those counties which were not given a railroad or did not receive the benefit of the canal would be given a total of $200,000 in money. *Laws of Illinois*, 1837, 131.

[37] The proceeds of the two loans were as follows:

$500,000 at 5% premium	$ 525,000.00
$500,000 at par	500,000.00
Interest on deposits	11,211.67
Total proceeds	$1,036,211.67

Reports General Assembly, 1838–1839, report of the board of canal commissioners, Dec. 13, 1838, 53–55.

13, the sum of $444,292 had been realized from the sale of canal lands and lots. A total of $1,432,445.43 had been expended upon the canal.[38] Thus far the income had proved sufficient to maintain construction, but at the beginning of 1839 the canal treasury was depleted so that further sources for funds had to be made available that the work might continue.

The legislature then in session accordingly passed a series of laws in behalf of the canal.[39] By an act passed on January 21, the fund commissioners were authorized to loan the canal fund the sum of $300,000 from the internal improvement fund. On February 23, a loan of $4,000,000, bearing six per cent interest, was authorized to be negotiated by agents appointed by the governor, who forthwith chose Ex-Governor John Reynolds and United States Senator R. M. Young.[40] To facilitate the sale of canal lands, an act was passed to make the terms more favorable to purchasers. In future sales only ten per cent of the purchase price need be paid at the time of purchase, and the balance, upon which six per cent interest was to be paid annually, would be due in twenty years. Sales were to continue until $400,000 was raised. By still another act the canal commissioners were empowered to sell water power to propel machinery for manufacturing purposes.

In April, Reynolds went to New York where he met Rawlings and Oakley, fund commissioners of the state.[41] In spite of the scarcity of money, Rawlings and Reynolds were able to negotiate two loans. On April 23, they contracted a loan of $300,000 with John Delafield, president of the Phoenix Bank of New York.[42] These bonds were sold for the special purpose of raising money to be applied to the payment of the $300,000 due from the canal fund to the internal improvement fund. The terms of this loan, which were very unfavorable to the state, provided that $50,000 was to be paid fifteen days after the delivery of the bonds, and the bal-

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[38] *Ibid.*, 1838–1839, report of the board of canal commissioners, Dec. 13, 1838, 15.

[39] *Laws of Illinois*, 1839, 41, 150, 168, 177, 238.

[40] The appointment of Reynolds by Governor Carlin was severely criticized by the Whigs, who wanted Ex-Governor Duncan to be chosen. The Democratic press defended the appointment. *Illinois State Register*, Apr. 19, 1839; *Sangamo Journal*, Apr. 23, 1839; *Daily Chicago American*, June 3, 1839.

[41] The biennial election of the fund commissioners held on Feb. 26, 1839, had resulted in the re-election of Rawlings and Oakley, and the selection of a new member, John Tillson, *House Journal*, 1838–1839, 531.

[42] *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 37.

ance was to be paid in monthly installments of $50,000 each, beginning August 1.[43]

The second contract was made on April 29 for a loan of $1,000,000 from Thomas Dunlap, president of the United States Bank of Philadelphia.[44] By this agreement the state was to be paid the proceeds of the loan in monthly installments of $100,000 each with ten dollar bank notes of the United States Bank.[45] The state was to deliver 1000 bonds of 225 pounds sterling each to the Bank by July 1, 1839. Interest was to begin on date of delivery of bonds.

Governor Carlin was highly displeased with the terms of the contract. In a letter to Young on July 11, 1839, he pointed out that since the contract provided for payment of principal and interest in London, the state would suffer a loss of nearly $300,000 on the deal.[46] His figures were based on a rate of exchange ten per cent in favor of London. He asserted that with the annual interest amounting to $60,000, the exchange on that sum would amount to $6,000 yearly, and in thirty years add to the interest, the large sum of $180,000. At the same rate of exchange on payment of principal, $100,000 more would be added to the state's loss. Another $12,500, equal to six per cent on $500,000 for five months, would be lost in interest to be paid on several installments before the money was received. These sums, together with the expense to be incurred in transporting the money to Illinois, would add up to a total loss of $300,000 for the state. "It would be better to postpone the construction of the canal than make any more such contracts," said Carlin. Total receipts from this loan amounted to $976,396.67.

With construction being carried forward on the canal during 1839 with much vigor, expenditures far exceeded the income from the loan which Reynolds had made. By June 1, there was a deficit of $208,000 against the canal fund, and expenditures were running at approximately $150,000 per month, an excess of $50,000 over the monthly installments to be received from the United States Bank.[47] To meet this deficit Governor Carlin placed $500,000 of the state bonds in the hands of William F. Thornton, president of

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[43] After having paid $150,000, Delafield was unable to make further payments. Letter of Governor Carlin to the speaker of the senate Dec. 2, 1840, *ibid.*, 1840–1841, senate, 252.

[44] Message of Governor Carlin, Dec. 10, 1839, *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 19.

[45] *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 38.

[46] Letter of Carlin to Young, July 11, 1839, *ibid.*, 1839–1840, senate, 380.

[47] Message of Governor Carlin, Dec. 10, 1839, *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 18–19.

the board of canal commissioners, to be sold in the local market. Thornton was able to sell $100,000 of these bonds at a premium of one per cent, but was unable to dispose of the remainder on satisfactory terms. In July, arrangements were made with the State Bank of Illinois to furnish the state sufficient funds, supplementary to the installments from the United States Bank, to maintain work on the canal during the remainder of the year without any reduction in the program.

On September 18, Reynolds arranged with the State Bank for the sale of $1,000,000 of canal stock, and on the nineteenth of the same month, he contracted with Anson Bangs, agent on behalf of the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Onondaga, located at Fayetteville, New York, for the sale of $500,000 more stock.[48] Governor Carlin withheld his approval so that neither of these agreements went into effect.

The rapid construction on the internal improvement system during 1839 soon exhausted the million dollars or so available at the beginning of the year. The fund commissioners once more went to New York in an attempt to sell stock. On May 7, 1839, Rawlings and Oakley sold $283,000 in state bonds to John Delafield.[49] By the terms of the contract Delafield promised to pay for the bonds in five installments of $50,000 each on the first of December, February, March, April, and May, and one of $33,000 on the first of June, 1840. The state was to pay interest on the bonds beginning May 7, 1839, the day the agreement was made. The contract was extremely unfavorable to the state.

During September further sales of bonds were made in smaller amounts, including $50,000 to the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank of Onondaga, $100,000 to the Bank of Commerce of Buffalo, $100,000 to the Erie County Bank of Buffalo, $100,000 to the Commercial Bank of Buffalo, $150,000 to the Atlantic Bank of New York, and $100,000 to January and Dunlap of Illinois, contractors on the Northern Cross Railroad.[50] By the terms of these contracts the bonds were to be paid for in installments of $10,000 to $22,500 each at intervals of one to six months. None of the agreements was fully carried out except that of January and Dunlap who paid for the bonds in work done on the Northern Cross Railroad under their

48 *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 41–43.

49 Contract of Oakley and Rawlings with Delafield, May 7, 1839, *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 93; *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, house, 363.

50 *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 74–88.

contracts on that line. The Onondaga Bank was a swindling concern and never made payments on the bonds.[51] The Atlantic Bank of New York closed its doors soon after the contract was made but the bonds were returned to the state without loss.[52] The other banks after each had paid $10,000 in cash at the time of purchase found themselves unable to keep their agreements, and either returned the bonds or paid in scrip for those which they retained.[53]

After having exhausted the possibilities of the New York money market the fund commissioners went to London in an effort to dispose of more internal improvement stock.[54] On August 22, 1839, Rawlings and Oakley made a contract with John Wright and Company of London.[55] By this agreement the fund commissioners contracted to deliver on or before January 1, 1840, stock of the state to the amount of $1,500,000, in bonds of $1000 each, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent, payable annually. Wright and Company agreed to make advances totaling $250,000 during the months of February, March, and April. They were authorized to pay $500,000 of the bonds to Thompson and Forman for railroad iron which Rawlings and Oakley had bought from that firm.[56] The remainder of the bonds were to be sold by Wright and Company at not less than par estimated according to the existing rate of exchange between England and the United States. The contract also gave Wright and Company the option on the flotation of a further sum of bonds to make an aggregate of $4,000,000.[57]

In the meanwhile, the agents of the state seeking loans on be-

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51 Letter of R. F. Barrett to Governor Carlin, Jan. 3, 1841, *Reports General Assembly*, 1841, house, 341.

52 *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 102.

53 Message of Governor Carlin, Nov. 26, 1840, *House Journal*, 1840–1841, 21; *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 5; *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 102.

54 Letter of John Tillson, fund commissioner, to William Gatewood, July 30, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 113.

55 *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 114. 393–409.

56 Thompson and Forman agreed to furnish the state 9,500 tons of railroad iron at nine pounds ten shillings per ton. The first shipment to the value of $50,000 was to be made as soon as the bonds were delivered to Wright and Company. Memorandum of the agreement of Rawlings and Oakley with Thompson and Forman, *ibid.*, 1839–1840, senate, 409-413.

57 The reason Wright and Company were willing to take Illinois internal improvement stock when other banking houses refused it can be explained by the fact that they were so largely interested in Cairo City where the Illinois Central Railroad was to terminate. Wright and Company had made loans to the Cairo City and Canal Company which was engaged in building extensive embankments to protect Cairo City from the floods of the Ohio river. *Chicago Democrat*, Sept. 25, 1839; *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 5, 1839.

half of the Illinois and Michigan canal, also went to Europe, after having become convinced that the American bond market offered no more possibilities. Reynolds spent several months in travel on the continent, where according to his own account he was much more interested in sight-seeing than in trying to negotiate loans.[58] He had very little financial ability and this mission to Europe showed that Carlin had used poor judgment in appointing him as a special agent of the state. On his return to London, Reynolds joined Young, and the two entered into negotiations with Wright and Company for a loan. After Reynolds left London on August 24 to return to the United States, Young continued the transactions. On October 30, 1839, Young made an agreement with Wright and Company for the sale of $1,000,000 in canal bonds.[59] The contract called for the deposit of one thousand sterling bonds drawing six per cent interest with the brokerage firm to be sold at a minimum of ninety-one per cent. The bonds were drawn at a face value of 225 pounds sterling but were to yield only $1,000 in the United States although the exchange rate between England and Illinois might be as high as fourteen per cent. The contract stipulated that these bonds should be replaced by others of like amount and rate but bearing interest payable semi-annually instead of annually as soon as the new bonds could be struck off and sent to England.[60] Wright and Company were required to advance but $250,000 on the bonds, and if more than ninety-one per cent could be obtained from them, the surplus, not exceeding four per cent, was to be retained by the bankers as a commission. If the bonds sold for more than ninety-five per cent, the excess was to be equally divided between the state and the brokers.

American bankers looked upon this sale of canal bonds as being very advantageous to the state. It was said that Young deserved great credit for selling the bonds so well, since Illinois six per cent bonds of 1860 and 1870 were selling in England at that time for

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[58] John Reynolds, *My Own Times, embracing also a History of my Life*, Belleville, 1855, 522–558.

[59] Letter of Reynolds to Governor Carlin, Sept. 12, 1839, *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 372; message of Governor Carlin, Dec. 10, 1839, *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 19; *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, senate, 172. Samuel Jaudon, agent of the United States Bank, advised Young against appointing an agent in London for the sale of bonds. He pointed out that such bonds would have to be made payable abroad. Letter of Jaudon to Young and Reynolds, Aug. 21, 1839, *ibid.*, 1839–1840, house, 377.

[60] The semi-annual payment of interest was made legal by an act of the general assembly on Feb. 1, 1840. *Laws of Illinois*, 1840, 93.

seventy-eight per cent.[61] In Illinois the sale was looked upon with less favor.

At the special session of the general assembly convened by Governor Carlin on December 9, 1839, to consider the internal improvement problem, some of the bond transactions made by the financial agents of the state were put under a severe scrutiny. The judiciary committees of the two houses acting as a joint committee to examine the contracts negotiated by the state agents made a report to the senate on January 20, 1840, in which they recommended the repudiation of the agreements with Wright and Company, Thompson and Forman, and John Delafield.[62]

The report stated that the state would not receive par for the bonds on which the principal and interest were payable in London with the exchanges as high as nine per cent between London and New York, and five per cent between New York and Illinois. It pointed out that with $90,000 due in interest every year upon the $1,500,000 in bonds sold by Rawlings and Oakley, the state would need the sum of $102,600 with which to make the payment at the rate of exchange then prevailing. In the thirty years that the bonds were to run, the state would lose the sum of $376,000 in interest alone on $1,500,000 of bonds, the committee argued; therefore, the state would be compelled to pay more than the legal rate according to the law under which the bonds were authorized. The committee went on to show how the state would suffer large losses because the agreement stipulated that the expense of making the contract with Wright and Company should be borne by the state; that the charges of all contracts made by Wright and Company for the sale of the bonds to other persons should be paid by the state; that all remittances of money, to and from England, whether for the payment of interest or principal should be at the risk and expense of the state; that the state should pay Wright and Company one per cent for handing over the interest on the bonds after the money was furnished them; and finally, that the state should throughout the period of thirty years, pay for semi-annual advertisements to be made in London papers for the benefit of the coupon holders in England.

In repudiating the contract with Delafield, the committee pointed out that nine months of interest was to be paid upon the whole

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[61] Letter of Samuel Jaudon to R. M. Young, Mar. 18, 1840, *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 362.

[62] *Senate Journal*, 1839–1840, 146; *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 161–172; *ibid.*, 1838–1839, house, 149-152.

sum of $283,000 before one cent of it had been received by the state, and before the last installment was paid, the state would have paid interest for one year and one month minus seven days upon the whole amount. Thus the state would have to pay a bonus of $14,000.

The house finance committee was divided on the question regarding the legality of the contract made by Young with Wright and Company. The majority reported a resolution declaring the contract as unauthorized by law and void. It estimated the loss to the state at $294,000.[63] The minority reported a resolution which expressed the opinion that it would be for the best interests of the state to ratify the contract which Young had made with Wright and Company. It declared that at the prevailing rate of exchange the state would receive $1,028,082 for the million dollars of bonds, and that in repayment the interest, exchanges, and commission would be only six and seven-tenths per cent.

In the senate, the committee on internal improvements considered all contracts which had been made by the fund commissioners for the sale of bonds since March 1, 1839.[64] A report by chairman Hacker of that committee made on March 1, 1840, took the form of a reply to the report made by the joint judiciary committee of the two houses. It contended that unfavorable rates of exchange would not cause the bonds to be sold below par; even so, the exchange might be in favor of Illinois by 1870. The Delafield loan was upheld on the grounds that it was made on more favorable terms than any other loan at that time or for months after. The final argument of the committee was that the repudiation of the contracts would result in the entire abandonment of the internal improvement system and a complete loss of $4,783,000, the whole amount of bonds sold since March 1, 1837.

When the resolutions of the joint judiciary committee came up for consideration in the senate on January 31, they were adopted by a vote of 21 to 18.[65] The next day, on the motion of Davidson, the senate decided to reconsider, 22 to 18. On a division of the resolution, the first two on the Wright and Company and the Thompson and Forman contracts were defeated by a vote of 18 to 22, and the one on the Delafield contract was beaten by 19 to 20.[66]

[63] Report of the finance committee on the Wright and Company loan, *ibid.*, 1839–1840, house, 123–128, 131-134.

[64] Report of the committee on internal improvements, Mar. 1, 1840, *ibid.*, 1839–1840, 209–220.

[65] *Senate Journal*, 1839–1840, 224.

[66] *Ibid.*, 1839–1840, 235.

There was a strong sentiment in this session of the legislature for a repeal of the internal improvement system. Finally, after much wrangling an act was passed on February 1 to abolish the board of fund commissioners and the board of public works.[67] The act provided that one fund commissioner was to be elected to perform the same duties as the board had previously, except that he could not sell state bonds nor borrow money on behalf of the state. The commissioner was authorized to receive and take charge of the railroad iron purchased in Europe and pay duty on it, to receive back all bonds from persons failing to comply with their contracts and to register and burn the bonds, to audit and settle the accounts of the previous board of fund commissioners and board of public works, and to bring suit against each member in arrears in the Sangamon county circuit court. On the same day the legislature elected Richard F. Barrett to fill the new office of fund commissioner.[68]

The action of the general assembly in questioning the legality of the Wright loans naturally had a harmful effect on the financial interests of the state in England. The recommendation of the joint judiciary committee that the contracts be repudiated compelled Wright and Company to cease operations for a time even though the general assembly did not adopt the report.[69] Governor Carlin felt that he could not assume the responsibility of ratifying the contracts after the strong expressions of disapprobation by the legislation.[70] The canal contractors, however, assented to an arrangement suggested by Young in which they would continue to work and receive in payment canal bonds which they could hypothecate with Wright and Company, according to the terms of the contract which had been made on October 30, 1839.[71] Young continued to urge upon the governor the necessity of confirming the contract, so that finally, Carlin yielded, and on May 1 gave his assent to the transactions.[72] He weakly defended his action with the assertion that the sale was probably the best and most favorable that could be effected to enable the state to meet the accruing liabilities on ac-

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67 *Laws of Illinois*, 1840, 93–96.

68 *House Journal*, 1839–1840, 334–336.

69 Letter of Wright to Young, Mar. 18, 1840, *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 360.

70 Letter of Carlin to Young, Feb. 19, 1840, *ibid.*, 1840–1841, senate, 363.

71 Letter of W. B. Ogden to Young, Mar. 7, 1840, *ibid.*, 1840–1841, senate, 364.

72 Letter of Carlin to Young, May 1, 1840, *ibid.*, 1840–1841, senate, 374.

count of the canal, but he still protested that the sale was not at par within the meaning of the act under which the bonds were issued.

The contract with Wright and Company was not to be consummated, however, for in November of 1840, the financial house became bankrupt.[73] The failure of the Wrights can be attributed largely to an overloading in American stocks. They took such securities at a time when other English banking houses avoided them. The Wrights claimed their downfall was caused by opposing bankers and brokers who induced the Bank of England to withdraw its support when most needed.[74] More likely the Bank of England withdrew its aid to protect itself rather than with any malign intent toward Wright and Company. The attitude of the Illinois general assembly and of Governor Carlin on the bond contracts undoubtedly served to make the position of the Wrights more difficult at a critical moment.

When the London banking house closed its doors, a large sum of money realized from the sale of state bonds had not been turned over to the state. In Illinois it was the general opinion that no loss would be encountered by the state.[75] This did not prove to be the case for the state had to share the loss along with the other creditors of Wright and Company. In August, 1841, John D. Whiteside, fund commissioner, engaged Emery, Sewell, and Moore, solicitors in London, to recover from the assignees of Wright and Company the amount due the state.[76] The claim of the state was for 41,625 pounds sterling of internal improvement bonds and 23,625 pounds sterling of canal bonds, which the brokers had sold for 52,776 pounds sterling and for which no settlement had been made. The sum of $100,000 was eventually received by the state as its share of the dividends from the bankrupt firm.[77] The unsold stock remaining in the hands of the Wrights at the time of their failure was sur-

[73] The failure did not become known in Illinois until late in December. W. F. Thornton, president of the board of canal commissioners, to the speaker of the senate, *Governors' Letter Books*, 1840–1854, edited by Ewarts B. Greene and Charles M. Thompson, *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Society*, vol. VII, Springfield, 1911, 26.

[74] Letter of Samuel Allinson to Governor Carlin, Dec. 1, 1840; *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 311.

[75] *Alton Telegraph*, Jan. 9, 1841.

[76] John D. Whiteside to the house, Feb. 25, 1841, *Reports General Assembly*, 1841–1842, house, 238.

[77] Reprint of a letter appearing in the *New York Herald* from state senator Michael Ryan, *Illinois State Register*, Oct. 27, 1843.

rendered to the state through an order of the London Court of Review issued on January 12, 1842.[78]

The contract with Thompson and Forman for railroad iron likewise proved very unfortunate for the state. The agreement stipulated that Wright and Company should pay Thompson and Forman for the iron out of the proceeds of the $1,500,000 state bonds for which they were agents.[79] In the event that the brokers should not be able to make a sale of the bonds, Thompson and Forman were to receive from them bonds at par value as collateral security for all shipments of iron made to Illinois. The first shipment of iron to the value of 10,000 pounds sterling was paid for by the Wrights from the sale of bonds.[80] Other shipments were made in July and August of 1840, amounting to 10,357 pounds sterling, for which Wright and Company delivered to the iron merchants fifty-two Illinois six per cent bonds with a face value of $52,000, as security to them as agreed upon in the contract.

When construction on the railroads was terminated in 1840, Barrett wrote to Thompson and Forman requesting them not to ship the iron as they were required to do by their contract, but to store it. Thompson and Forman replied that they had made arrangements for the fulfillment of the contract in every respect, and that they could not without serious inconveniences to themselves, comply with the request to store the iron. Instead of sending forward the whole amount of iron, 9,500 tons, as they had indicated in their letter, they only shipped 1,990 tons. In the meantime Barrett made a freight arrangement with Blaine, Tompkins, and Barret, a firm at St. Louis, and paid them $50,000 in advance for such services.[81] When the iron was not forthcoming the state lost $33,000 to the St. Louis firm because of the non-fulfillment of the contract.[82]

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[78] 215,000 pounds sterling of canal bonds and 166,950 pounds sterling of internal improvement bonds were delivered to the agents of the state. Report of John D. Whiteside to the house, Feb. 25, 1843, *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, house, 238; *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 25, 1842.

[79] *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 409–413.

[80] *Ibid.*, 1852–1853, house, 333–335.

[81] Report of the select committee appointed by the house to examine the accounts of R. F. Barrett, fund commissioner, Feb. 6, 1843, *ibid.*, 1842–1843, house, 209–214, also 238, 391.

[82] John D. Whiteside, who succeeded Barrett as fund commissioner, sought to recover the $33,000 for the state from Barrett. He proposed to submit the question to arbitration for settlement, which Barrett declined. Suit was then brought in the Sangamon county circuit court. A select committee appointed to examine the accounts of fund commissioner Barrett reported to the house of the state legislature on February 6, 1843, that Barrett should be absolved of all blame and censure in the case. The commit-

Under such circumstances Thompson and Forman later preferred a claim of damages against the state for about $54,000, which they alleged was due them in consequence of the non-fulfillment of the contract on the part of the state. In reality they themselves had abandoned the contract. They also applied to the Court of Review at London to obtain a lien upon $1,000,000 of bonds remaining unsold in the hands of Wright and Company. The court granted an order and with its consent the bonds were sent to the United States in 1849, and placed in the hands of Howland and Aspinwall of New York, subject to the order of the court in England. After several unsuccessful attempts for an agreement, the case was finally settled in 1859 when the state legislature passed a law authorizing the governor to make a payment of $32,312.17 on condition that Thompson and Forman should cause to be delivered to the governor or his agent for cancellation all bonds in their possession.[83] The total number of bonds thus delivered amounted to $1,088,000.

The contractors on the internal improvement system continued to work on their contracts during 1839 even though the fund commissioner failed in securing funds to pay them. On August 1, Governor Carlin wrote a letter to the president of the Bank of Illinois seeking a short term loan of $300,000 to pay the contractors the estimates due them.[84] In a second letter on August 23, he suggested that he would be willing to deposit $500,000 in state bonds with the bank as collateral security.[85] On September 11, John Marshall, president of the Bank of Illinois, agreed to place to the credit of the fund commissioner and subject to their drafts on his bank, $100,000 on October 1, and a like amount on November 1.[86] The $200,000 loan was to be repaid in New York when funds became available to the state, and interest was to be charged from the time the money was placed to the credit of the fund commissioners until the day of payment. $500,000 in bonds was to be placed with the bank as security. On September 14, the board of public works agreed on behalf of the fund commissioners, who were absent, to repay the

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tee expressed the opinion that Barrett's course was governed solely by the intention to serve the best interests of the state. *Ibid.*, 1842–1843, house, 214.

[83] *Laws of Illinois*, 1859, public, 19; *Alton Daily Morning Journal*, Feb. 19, 1853.

[84] *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 149.

[85] Letter of Governor Carlin to the Bank of Illinois, Aug. 23, 1839, *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 78.

[86] Letter of Marshall to the fund commissioners, Sept. 11, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 81.

loan in New York in installments of $50,000 each on the first day of December, February, March, and April following.[87]

Much difficulty was experienced in repaying the loan to the bank as the fund commissioners were working at cross-purposes. When the $200,000 loan was negotiated with the Bank of Illinois, an agreement was made by Rawlings and Oakley with Delafield authorizing the bank to draw on him as the installments fell due from the $283,000 loan which he had made to the state on May 7, 1839.[88] After Rawlings and Oakley left New York, Tillson directed Delafield not to pay any drafts that might be made on him by the bank. Consequently, when the bank presented a draft on Delafield in New York, payment was refused.[89] Tillson defended his action on the grounds that the money from Delafield was needed to pay interest on the debt.[90] On December 17, Rawlings and Oakley wrote to Delafield ordering him to pay the drafts drawn on him by the Bank of Illinois.[91] They pointed out that Tillson had no authority to change any contracts that a majority of the funds commissioners had made. Delafield not only refused to pay the drafts of the Bank of Illinois, but stopped payment on the state bonds altogether. He claimed that he had been promised that no more bonds would be placed on the market; but more bonds had been offered, causing them to decline to sixty-two cents on the dollar so that he could not dispose of those in his possession.[92] Delafield had paid only $150,000 on the $583,000 internal improvement and canal bonds which he held.

A long period of negotiation followed in which the fund commissioner sought to make terms with Delafield for the surrender of the bonds to the state.[93] On May 6, 1840, Delafield offered to

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87 Letter of Hogan and Willard to the Bank of Illinois, Sept. 14, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 79.

88 Letter of Rawlings and Oakley to Delafield, Dec. 17, 1839; *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 447; *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 100, 128.

89 Letter of Marshall to Oakley, Oct. 26, 1839, *ibid.*, VIII, 100; *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 447.

90 Letter of Tillson to Gatewood, Oct. 28, 1839; *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 99.

91 *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, senate, 447.

92 Letter of Delafield to Rawlings and Oakley, Jan. 31, 1840, *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 138–140. Both Oakley and Reynolds denied having made a promise to Delafield not to offer any more state bonds for sale in the United States. Oakley even claimed that Delafield had not even requested such a promise. Letter of Oakley to Barrett, Sept. 14, 1840, *ibid.*, X, 89; letter of Reynolds to Barrett, Sept. 24, 1840, *ibid.*

93 Letter of Delafield to Barrett, May 6, 1840; Barrett to Delafield, May 21, 1840; Delafield to Barrett, May 23, 1840; Barrett to Delafield, June 22, 1840; Delafield to Barrett, June 23, 1840; Barrett to Delafield, July 2, 1840, *ibid.*, X, 30–34.

pay $260,000 for the bonds which he held. Barrett refused the offer, stating that the state could not take seventy cents on the dollar for bonds which would have to be repaid at their face value. On May 23, Delafield again made a proposal in which he offered to return the bonds which had not been disposed of and pay to the state whatever had been received for the bonds that had been sold. Barrett refused this offer likewise, and countered with a proposal that the state would repay with interest the $150,000 received from Delafield on the condition that all the 583 bonds be returned. When the offer was declined, Barrett began a suit in the United States circuit court for the southern district of New York to prevent Delafield from disposing to innocent third parties of the bonds which he held in his possession. The court granted an injunction to prevent further sales and ordered a receiver of the bonds to be appointed. It was also pointed out in the court's decision that the contract was illegal because the bonds had been sold on credit.[94]

In 1841, John D. Whiteside, fund commissioner of the state succeeding Barrett, made an agreement with Delafield whereby the latter gave four promissory notes of $57,361.73 each, due one, two, three, and four years respectively after April 21, 1841, in payment of half of the bonds for which he had not settled with the state.[95] For the other half of the bonds, John Tillson gave four similar notes as well as assigning to the state the entire stock of the "Quincy House" in Quincy, Illinois. Tillson's interest in the Delafield debt at this time suggests that he may have had previous dealings with Delafield in state bonds. Neither Tillson nor Delafield were able to meet the obligations incurred in the agreement, and the state once more prosecuted its claim against Delafield under the injunction previously obtained against him.[96] All the bonds were finally returned except those which had been sold to third parties. These, the state paid in full when it assumed payment on the internal improvement debt.

The loan from the Bank of Illinois was an expedient which eased the situation for only a short time. By January of 1840, the state was once more in arrears in its payment to the contractors to the amount of $361,072.05.[97] During the following year the board of public

[94] *Illinois State Register*, Aug. 21, Nov. 6, 1840; *Sangamo Journal*, Sept. 17, Oct. 23, 1840; *Internal Improvement Records*, X, 50, 74, 106.

[95] *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, senate, 225-237, 255-257; *ibid.*, 1844-1845, senate, 189-190.

[96] The state acquired the "Quincy House," estimated to be worth about $100,000.

[97] Report of William Prentiss, secretary of the board of public works, made to the senate, Jan. 8, 1840, *ibid*, 1839–1840, senate, 131

works proceeded to pay for the work done on the internal improvements by issuing the contractors checks payable at such time as the necessary funds should be provided. A total of $1,342,372.82 of such checks were given out by the board. In 1841 the board of auditors, created to settle the accounts of the contractors, issued $82,011 more of the checks, making a total of $1,424,384.82 in all of internal improvement scrip.[98]

The canal commissioners likewise were forced to employ the expedient of issuing scrip. During 1839 canal workers were paid in part with scrip, redeemable within a few months after issue. Such checks, printed in denominations of $1.00, $2.50, $5.00, $10.00, $20.00, $50.00, and $100.00, were generally accepted at par since it was thought that funds would be available for their redemption. Scrip in this form to the amount of $616,870.70 was put in circulation.[99]

In its efforts to find means to continue work on the canal, the legislature during the session of 1839-1840 passed an act on February 1, authorizing the canal commissioners to issue the contractors checks bearing six per cent interest and payable whenever funds became available.[100] Under this law checks to the amount of $409,448.70 were issued during 1840.[101]

In order to increase the marketability of canal bonds the legislature on February 1, 1840, authorized the commissioners to sell enough lands and lots to pay the interest on the canal loans.[102] Due to the scarcity of money, the demand for canal lands proved to be very disappointing. Sales extending over a period from June 30 to July 13 yielded only $7,387.06, most of which was paid in canal scrip.[103] The commissioners abandoned the effort to raise

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98 *Internal Improvement Records*, XVIII, 134.

99 Report of the board of canal commissioners, Dec. 10, 1839, *Reports General Assembly*, 1839–1840, house, 53; *Ibid.*, 1861, I, 434.

100 *Laws of Illinois*, 1840, 79; report of the board of canal commissioners, Dec. 21, 1840, *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 73.

101 Additional scrip was issued by governors Ford and French from 1843 to 1849 to pay balances due contractors and for damages resulting from termination of contracts, to the amount of $318,229.97. Report of the senate finance committee, *ibid.*, 1861, I, 417.

102 *Laws of Illinois*, 1840, 79.

103 Under the provisions of the act of Feb. 1, 1840, only one-fourth of the purchase price of the timber land was payable in cash with the remainder in three annual installments, while only one-tenth of the price of the prairie land was payable at the time of the purchase and the remainder in twenty years. Interest at the rate of six per cent was to be paid on the deferred payments. The sales resulted in the disposal of 460 acres of woodland averaging $12.54 per acre and 7,043 acrs of prairie land averaging $8.61 per acre. Certificates to the amount of $60,775.57 were granted purchasers during the sales. *Ibid.*, 1840–1841, senate, 74.

money by this means, when it was found impossible to continue the sale without a reduction in the price of land such as would prove detrimental to future sale of bonds.

When it appeared during 1840 that work on the canal would have to cease, the contractors proposed to take $1,200,000 of state bonds at par and bear the discount at which the bonds would have to be sold.[104] The canal contracts had been made at a time when prices were so high that the contractors could lose twenty-five per cent in 1840 and still make a profit. At a meeting of the contractors held at Lockport on June 27, W. F. Thornton, president of the board of canal commissioners, and W. B. Ogden and George Barnett, contractors, were appointed a special committee to carry on negotiations with Governor Carlin. The proposition made by the contractors was agreeable to the governor and he approved the appointment of Thornton as their agent. In July, Thornton took to London $500,000 of canal bonds belonging to the state and $1,200,000 of the bonds which had been accepted by the contractors. The law under which they were issued prevented him from selling the state bonds below par, but the bonds belonging to the contractors could be sold at as low a price as seventy-five per cent. He could not dispose of the stock at par, therefore he did not sell the state bonds, but he sold $1,000,000 of bonds on behalf of the contractors to Magniac, Smith and Company of London at a rate of eighty-three.[105] Thus it was made possible for work to continue on the canal for several months longer, but at a diminished rate.

During 1841 and 1842 a few of the contractors who were able to meet their own expenses and wait for their pay accepted bonds until their depreciation became so great as to render that means of payment prohibitive. Bonds paid out in this way amounted to $197,000. Another method of payment consisted of checks drawn by the contractors in favor of their creditors against the canal commissioners. Such orders became negotiable after having been formally accepted and recorded by the secretary of the canal board. A rapid depreciation of the orders put a stop to that method of payment after about $46,000 had been issued.[106]

By 1840 the problem of providing the interest on the state debt

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[104] Message of Governor Carlin, Nov. 26, 1840, *House Journal*, 1840–1841, 25; *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 30–54; *Daily Chicago American*, July 1, 1840.

[105] *Chicago Weekly Tribune*, Aug. 22, 1840; *Illinois State Register*, Sept. 4, 1840; *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 30, 50–54.

[106] Report of the board of canal commissioners, Dec. 15, 1842, *ibid.*, 1842–1843, 65.

had become more important than the question of how more funds might be obtained to complete the internal improvement projects. Until that time premiums on bonds, interest on deposits, and dividends from bank stocks had been sufficient to pay the interest charges on the state loans.[107] In July of 1840 the interest due on state bonds held in London was paid out of 20,000 pounds sterling received from Wright and Company under the contract of October, 1839. To meet the interest payable on that date in New York, Colonel Mather, president of the State Bank of Illinois, loaned the state the sum of $30,000.[108]

During the fall of 1840 the problem of meeting future interest payments appeared increasingly difficult. Governor Carlin convened the legislature two weeks early for the session of 1840-1841, for the purpose of finding some means to provide for the payment of the interest due on January 1, 1841, In his message Carlin expressed the opinion that there was no way to pay the interest except by the hypothecation or sale of state bonds below par.[109] He went on to point out, however, that the policy of paying the interest out of the borrowed money must soon be stopped, and the only alternatives which he could suggest were an increase of the banking capital and a resort to direct taxation.

The time in which the legislature had to act on the interest problem was very short. The plan most favored seemed to be that of hypothecation of bonds for whatever they would bring in the market. There was some sentiment for repudiation, especially upon those bonds for which the state had not received full payment. Much resentment was expressed against the acts of the fund commissioners in selling bonds on credit and for less than their face value. There were some members of the legislature who argued that the state was not bound to pay interest on bonds for which the state had not received face value, while others insisted that the state was in honor bound to do everything in its power to meet its obligation; if the agents of the state had erred, the state was responsible for their acts. The extended debate almost prevented any definite action being taken, but a law was finally passed on December 14 authorizing the fund commissioner to hypothecate internal improvement

[107] Receipts from those sources consisted of $146,696.99 from premiums of exchange and interest on deposits, $323,150 from dividends from stock in the State Bank, and $147,500 from dividends from stock in the Bank of Illinois, *ibid.*, 1839–1840, senate, 119.

[108] Message of Governor Carlin, Nov. 26, 1840, *House Journal*, 1840–1841, 26.

[109] *Senate Journal*, 1840–1841, 10.

bonds to an amount not to exceed $300,000, the proceeds of which were to be applied to the payment of all interest legally due on the public debt.[110]

Even with this law allowing hypothecation of bonds, R. F. Barrett, the fund commissioner, experienced great difficulty in obtaining the money necessary for the interest. After much effort he secured $40,000 from the United States Bank, $25,000 from Elisha Riggs, and $29,410 from Nevins, Townshend and Company for only ninety days with thirty days grace.[111] He had to hypothecate 300 thousand dollar bonds, and allow interest at the rate of seven per cent. If the bonds were not redeemed at the end of 120 days they were to be sold at auction for what they would bring. The bonds were redeemed without any loss to the state on May 8, 1841, by John D. Whiteside, who succeeded Barrett as fund commissioner.[112]

After having provided for the emergency of meeting the interest payment due January 1, the legislature set about devising means for additional state revenue. In February a law was passed authorizing a tax of ten cents on each $100 of real and personal property of all citizens.[113] The proceeds of the tax were to be set aside as an "interest fund" and were to be used for the payment of interest on the state debt. Since such a tax would provide for only a small part of the interest payments, the governor was authorized to issue bonds to raise funds for the remainder. The bonds were to be sold by the fund commissioner at the best price obtainable.

In June, 1841, fund commissioner Whiteside made an agreement with Macalister and Stebbins of New York to hypothecate with them interest bonds of $1000 each at the rate of $400 per bond or forty cents to the dollar.[114] He delivered to the firm 804 bonds with the understanding that they were to pay $321,600 on the interest due on the state debt, and that they would not dispose of the bonds unless sold at seventy-five per cent of their par value. Furthermore, they were to sell no more than to reimburse the advance which they had made to the state under the direction of the fund commissioner. On behalf of the state, Whiteside promised that the loan would be re-

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110 *Illinois State Register*, Dec. 18, 23, 1840; *Laws of Illinois*, 1841, 108.

111 Report of Barrett to the senate, Jan. 7, 1841, *Reports General Assembly*, 1840–1841, senate, 327; *Ninawah Gazette*, Jan. 30, 1841.

112 Report of John D. Whiteside, fund commissioner, to the senate, Dec. 26, 1842, *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, senate, 74; *Internal Improvement Records*, VIII, 80.

113 *Laws of Illinois*, 1841, 166–167.

114 Report of Whiteside to the senate, Dec. 26, 1842, *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, senate, 75, *Sangamo Journal*, Oct. 22, 1841.

funded within six months and that three and a half per cent interest would be paid on it during that period. Macalister and Stebbins paid $286,443.33 on the interest of the state debt in July, and of this $24,882.50 was returned in the form of a protested bill on October 9.[115] As the price of Illinois bonds declined after the contract, which was made on June 17, Macalister and Stebbins asked for more security and took into their possession forty-two more $1000 bonds and $67,215.44 of scrip, so that they held a total of $913,215.44 in state liabilities as collateral security for the loan of $261,560.83. The firm had to pledge these bonds in various amounts with different brokers and banks in order to raise the money which it had loaned the state.[116]

When the fund commissioner was unable to repay the loan in December, the creditors of Macalister and Stebbins proceeded to sell the bonds in their possession in an effort to satisfy the advances which they had made to that firm in order that it might loan the $261,560.83 to the state. Five hundred and thirty-five of the state bonds selling at fifteen to twenty cents on the dollar netted only $89,877.24.

During the 1842–1843 session of the general assembly, Macalister and Stebbins applied to the state for relief. A joint select committee was appointed to conduct an investigation at which John D. Whiteside and Charles Macalister testified. After hearing the testimony of these two men the committee adopted resolutions denying the right of the fund commissioner to hypothecate bonds under the existing laws of the state, but recommended that the holders of the bonds in question be paid *pro rata* for the amount advanced to the state on them.[117] After much discussion the legislature passed a law on March 4, 1843, authorizing the auditor to pay Macalister and Stebbins the sum of $261,500 with interest from June 17, 1841, in installments of $20,000 to be paid in 1844, and $50,000 annually thereafter, until the whole amount was paid; provided, that Macalister and Stebbins should surrender the bonds and other state liabilities in their possession to the auditor.[118] This act to settle the account of Macalister and Stebbins was not carried out, as the bonds

115 Macalister and Stebbins statement to the senate, *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, senate, 197.

116 *Peoria Register and Northwestern Gazeteer*, Jan. 14, 1842.

117 Report of the joint select committee to whom was referred the memorial of Charles Macalister, Feb. 25, 1843, *Reports General Assembly*, 1842–1843, senate, 185–198; *Illinois State Register*, Jan. 14, 1842; *Sangamo Journal*, Jan. 7, 14, Feb. 4, 25, 1842.

118 *Senate Journal*, 1842–1843, 330, 456; *Laws of Illinois*, 1843, 287.

which they proposed to return were no longer subject to their control.[119] The Macalister and Stebbins transaction involved the state for many years in a dispute concerning the question of disposal of the bonds to third parties.

After July, 1841, the state defaulted on its interest payments, and its bonds fell to fifteen cents on the dollar. In six years Illinois had accumulated a debt of nearly ten and a half million dollars on account of internal improvements.[120] No project had been completed. The Illinois and Michigan canal still lacked more than one-fourth of completion. Some progress had been made on the entire railroad system, as construction had taken place simultaneously on all roads, but only a fifty-nine mile section from Springfield to Meredosia was completed. This section of railroad costing $900,000 proved of no benefit as neither the state nor private interests to whom it was leased could operate it profitably, and the road was sold in 1847 for the sum of $21,000 to Nicholas H. Ridgely and Thomas Mather, Springfield bankers.[121]

For several years the state groped blindly for a solution of the debt problem. The hard times which made the debt appear even more burdensome led some people to despair of preserving the state credit and to demand repudiation. The state appeared to be enmeshed in a difficulty from which it could not extricate itself. The gloom prevailing in Illinois and other states with similar difficulties during the early 1840s presents a striking contrast to the buoyant optimism of 1836.

The election of Thomas Ford to the governorship in 1842 gave the state an aggressive executive, who with the aid of better times was able to work out a solution of the state's difficult debt problem. The new governor in his inaugural address frankly stated the responsibility of the state to pay its debt, while asking for patience on the part of the creditors until rehabilitation of the state's finances could be accomplished.[122] In presenting his program, Ford urged the immediate completion of the canal so as to enhance the value of the canal lands and to give the state a source of revenue for paying the interest on the debt.

Encouraged by the governor's message, the legislature passed

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119 Message of Governor Ford, Dec. 3, 1844, *Reports General Assembly*, 1844–1845, senate, 9.

120 Governor Ford in his message to the legislature on Dec. 8, 1842, estimated the canal debt at $4,436,408, and the internal improvement debt at $6,014,749.53. *House Journal*, 1842–1843, 41.

121 *Sangamo Journal*, Apr. 8, 29, 1847.

122 *Senate Journal*, 1842–1843, 33–44.

measures which set the state on its way to a solution of the financial problems.[123] Laws were enacted for putting the State Bank and the Bank of Illinois into liquidation, and providing in each case for the surrender to the state of the bonds which they held in exchange for the stock in the institution owned by the state. Further to liquidate the debt, an act was passed authorizing the sale of all state lands and property acquired in connection with the internal improvement system. The office of fund commissioner was abolished, and the governor appointed an *ex officio* fund commissioner to settle all suits, debts, or contracts involving the state on account of internal improvements.

Undoubtedly, most important, was the act which provided for completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal. The governor was authorized to negotiate a loan of $1,600,000 on the pledge of the canal property, its tolls and revenue. Holders of canal bonds and other evidences of state indebtedness were to be given the preference in subscribing to the loan. The canal was to be turned over to three trustees, two of whom were to be elected by the subscribers to the new loan and one to be appointed by the governor. The trustees were to complete and operate the canal for the benefit of the creditors until the canal debt was paid.

With considerable difficulty the loan of $1,600,000 was secured to complete the canal, but only after the state demonstrated its good faith by adopting a system of taxation to provide an income for the payment of a part of the accruing interest on the debt.[124] In June of 1845, the canal was conveyed by the governor to the trustees and active preparation begun for the resumption of work. Finally, in April, 1848, the Illinois and Michigan canal was completed.[125]

The total cost of the canal upon its completion in 1848 amounted to $6,468,854.25. Expenditures to 1845 when the canal was turned over to the trustees amounted to $5,039,248.04, of which $4,674,637.23 had been paid for construction and $364,610.81 for contingent expenses.[126] The trustees expended $1,429,606.21 in complet-

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123 *Laws of Illinois*, 1843, 21–35, 147–148, 191-193, 231.

124 *Chicago Daily Journal*, Mar. 3, 7, 1845; *Illinois State Register*, Mar. 28, Apr. 18, May 23, 1845; *Laws of Illinois*, 1845, 44. The tax law as passed on Mar. 1, 1845, provided for a levy of one mill upon each dollar valuation of property. In 1846 the rate was to be increased to a mill and a half and thereafter to remain at that figure as long as needed.

125 *Illinois Gazette*, Apr. 22, July 15, 1848; *Beardstown Gazette*, May 5, 1848.

126 Report of the board of trustees of the Illinois and Michigan canal, Dec. 1, 1846, *Reports General Assembly*, 1847, house, 98-100.

ing the canal and in constructing the necessary feeders from the Fox, Kankakee, and Calumet rivers to furnish a water supply.[127]

These sums, however, do not represent the entire amount of the canal debt. At the canal's completion, the debt stood at more than eight million dollars. Governor French in his message to the legislature on January 2, 1849, reported the total canal debt with interest amounted to $8,042,629.00.[128]

To summarize the financing of the canal, the state had sold bonds to the amount of $5,383,000, and had issued scrip of various kinds to the amount of $1,390,549.37. The sale of bonds had been as follows:

500 bonds of $1000 each, sold by Gov. Duncan to the State Bank, payable in New York	$ 500,000.00
500 bonds of $1000 each, sold by Gov. Duncan to the State Bank, payable in New York	500,000.00
300 bonds of $1000 each, sold by Gen. Rawlings to John Delafield, payable in New York	300,000.00
1000 bonds of £225 each, sold by Gen. Rawlings to the U. S. Bank, payable in London	1,000,000.00
100 bonds of £225 each, sold by Gen. Thornton to various contractors, payable in New York	100,000.00
150 bonds of £225 each, sold by Wright & Co., London, under a contract made by R. M. Young and John Reynolds, payable in London	150,000.00
1000 bonds of £225 each, sold by Gov. Carlin to canal contractors, and by their agent Gen. Thornton to Magniac, Smith & Co., London; which were exchanged by Magniac, Smith Co., for 450 bonds of £100 each, and 600 bonds of £300 each, payable in London	1,000,000.00
197 bonds of $1000 each, sold by canal commissioners to canal contractors, payable in New York	197,000.00
$1,600,000 loan, sold by the canal trustees to various canal bond subscribers	1,600,000.00
Total bonds sold	$5,383,000.00

Canal scrip and checks had been issued and put in circulation as follows:

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127 Final report of the board of trustees of the Illinois and Michigan canal, Apr. 30, 1871, *ibid.*, 1873, I, 8.

128 Message of Governor French, Jan. 2, 1849, *ibid.*, 1849, senate, 7. During 1848 the trustees had paid $169,165.48 on account of principal and interest on the $1,600,000 loan, so that the debt stood somewhat higher than $8,042,622.00 in April when the canal was completed. Report of the board of trustees of the Illinois and Michigan canal, Jan. 1, 1849, *ibid.*, 1849, house, 4.

Non-interest bearing scrip issued during 1839 in denominations of $1.00, $2.50, $5.00, $10.00, $20.00, $50.00, and $100.00	$ 616,870.70
Interest bearing checks, dated Mar. 1, 1840, issued during 1840	409,448.70
Contractors accepted orders, introduced by the canal commissioners in May, 1841	46,000.00
Scrip issued by Gov. Ford and Gov. French to contractors for damages, under act of Feb. 21, 1843	230,000.00
Scrip issued by Gov. French to pay balance due contractors, under act of Feb. 16, 1847	70,530.91
Scrip issued by Gov. French to various persons for damages, etc., 1847–1849	17,699.06
Total amount of scrip put in circulation	$1,390,549.37

In 1847 an act was passed allowing the exchange of canal scrip for canal bonds.[129] The governor was authorized to issue bonds bearing six per cent interest for principal, and non-interest bearing certificates for arrears of interest, to all holders of scrip presenting it for refunding. Consequently, 1018 bonds of $1000 each were issued for scrip surrendered.[130] A considerable portion of the scrip had already been redeemed through purchases of canal lands. Only a small amount of scrip remained unredeemed or unfunded.

Thus the original canal debt amounted to $6,773,549.73. Interest charges, however, increased the sum which the state had to pay in liquidating the debt to approximately double this amount.

Unlike the canal, the railroad system was not completed by the state except for the fifty-nine mile section of the Northern Cross road.[131] When construction came to an end, the exact amount of

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129 *Laws of Illinois*, 1847, 165.

130 Report of the senate finance committee, *Reports General Assembly*, 1861, I, 417.

131 Expenditures charged to the various projects were as follows:

Great Wabash River	$ 12,931.00	p. 17
Illinois River	25,539.68	p. 20
Rock River	36,384.37	p. 23
Kankakee River	6,322.63	p. 26
Little Wabash River	46,530.23	p. 29
Great Western Mail Route	147,844.17	p. 32
Central Railroad	527,409.76	p. 35
Alton-Shawneetown & Alton-Mt. Carmel Railroad	331,870.74	p. 38
Northern Cross Railroad	952,129.85	p. 41
Branch of Central Railroad	113,724.28	p. 44
Peoria & Warsaw Railroad	170,002.11	p. 47
Alton & Hillsboro Railroad	63,609.22	p. 50
Belleville Cross Railroad	No data given	p. 53
Bloomington & Mackinaw Railroad	93,593.24	p. 56
Roads in counties without Railroads or canal	217,981.99	p. 59

Ledger of the Fund Commissioners, State Archives, Springfield, Illinois.

obligations which the state had incurred in behalf of the system was not definitely known. The devious financial arrangements to which the state's agents had resorted in securing loans resulted in much uncertainty concerning the disposition and the state's liability in regard to the various bond issues. A summarization of the internal improvement system's financing discloses the state's obligations to have been as follows:

Certificate of indebtedness issued to the banks in January, 1838, in payment of bank stock—1765 bonds sold to State Bank of Illinois	$1,765,000.00	
900 bonds sold to Bank of Illinois	900,000.00	
		$2,665,000.00
Internal improvement stock sold by the fund commissioners in January, 1838—1000 bonds to Nicholas Biddle	1,000,000.00	
1000 bonds to Irvin & Beers	1,000,000.00	
100 bonds to Hall & Hudson	100,000.00	
100 bonds to Boorman & Johnson	100,000.00	
4 bonds to Lt. Levy	4,000.00	
		2,204,000.00
Internal improvement stock sold by the fund commissioners in May, 1839—283 bonds to John Delafield		283,000.00
Internal improvement stock sold by the fund commissioners dated July 1, 1839, and only partially paid for, except the first item—		
300 bonds to January & Dunlap	300,000.00	
50 bonds to A. H. Bangs	50,000.00	
100 bonds to Erie County Bank	100,000.00	
100 bonds to Bank of Commerce	100,000.00	
100 bonds to Commercial Bank	100,000.00	
150 bonds Atlantic Bank	150,000.00	
		800,000.00

Internal improvement stock disposed of by the fund commissioners to Wright & Co., London, dated July 1, 1839—

293 bonds of £225 each sold to Wright & Co.
33 bonds of £100 each sold to Wright & Co.
52 bonds of £225 each paid to Thompson & Forman.
185 bonds of £225 each pledged by Wright & Co.
214 bonds of £225 each left with Wright & Co.
1668 bonds of £100 each left with Wright & Co.

Bonds amounting to £214,950 left with Wright & Co., on which Thompson & Forman obtained a lien, on account of a balance due them for railroad iron. A total of £337,500, equal at $4.44 per pound sterling to		1,500,000.00
Internal improvement stock issued to provide for the settlement of debts incurred on account of internal improvements, pursuant to the act approved, Feb. 1, 1840—		
180 bonds to Nevins, Townshend & Co., and E. Riggs in exchange for internal improvement scrip	180,000.00	
20 bonds to Nevins, Townshend & Co., for payment on interest Jan. 1, 1840	20,000.00	
50 bonds to M. B. Sherwood for paper of Galliopolis Bank to pay freight on railroad iron	50,000.00	
50 bonds to Nevins, Townshend & Co., in exchange for internal improvement scrip	50,000.00	
100 bonds hypothecated to U. S. Bank	100,000.00	
100 bonds to M. B. Sherwood in exchange for scrip	100,000.00	
21 bonds left with Nevins, Townshend & Co.	21,000.00	
78 bonds deposited with the State Bank	78,000.00	
200 bonds hypothecated with the State Bank	100,000.00	
		799,000.00
Illinois and Michigan canal bonds dated July 1, 1837—100 bonds applied to the completion of the Northern Cross Railroad, Springfield to Meredosia		100,000.00
Internal improvement stock issued to provide for the payment of interest on the debt, pursuant to the act approved Feb. 27, 1841—50 bonds to the State Bank	50,000.00	
804 bonds hypothecated to Macalister & Stebbins	804,000.00	
		854,000.00
Internal improvement scrip issued for the relief of contractors—Scrip issued pursuant to act approved Feb. 3, 1840	1,342,372.82	
Scrip issued pursuant to act approved Feb. 26, 1841	82,011.82	
		$1,424,384.64

Governor Ford in his message to the legislature on December 8, 1842, estimated the internal improvement debt at $6,014,749.53.[132]

The Illinois indebtedness of the 1840s may not appear as a heavy obligation today, but to the people of a frontier state struggling through the bog of a depression, it presented an almost insurmountable difficulty. In 1842 the state of Illinois was able to collect but $98,546.14 in taxes for the general expenses of government, while interest charges on the state debt amounted to nearly $800,000 annually.[133] These figures portray clearly the seriousness of the situation.

How Illinois was able to extricate itself from its financial difficulties is a long and tedious story.[134] Suffice it to say, the more important factors which enabled the state to pay its obligations were the determination of the people to bear a burden of taxation, a rapid increase in wealth and population, and greatly improved economic conditions throughout the nation. By 1857 the state was able to pay in full the annual interest charges for the first time on all indebtedness, and by 1881 the entire internal improvement debt was paid. Due to the length of time which elapsed between the sale of the bonds and the debt's liquidation, interest charges increased the amount of the state's obligations on account of the canal and railroad building venture to approximately thirty million dollars.

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[132] Message of Governor Ford, Dec. 8, 1842, *House Journal*, 1842–1843, 41. Ford estimated the total state debt as follows:

Internal Improvement debt	$ 6,014,749.53
Canal debt	4,436,408.00
Bonds issued to purchase bank stock	2,665,000.00
Surplus revenue deposited to account of state by United States	447,919.00
Amount due school fund	335,592.00
Due school, college, and seminary fund	472,492.18
Due State Bank for paying auditor's warrants	294,190.00
Due Bank of Illinois on settlement	369,998.00
Bonds issued to build a state house at Springfield	121,000.00
Total state indebtedness	$15,187,348.71

[133] Biennial report of the auditor of public accounts, Dec. 1, 1850, *Reports General Assembly*, 1851, senate, 87.

[134] The writer is preparing a detailed account of the liquidation of the internal improvement debt in an article for future publication.

John Jay and Joseph Galloway: A Case Study in Conservatism

I

In every revolution of any consequence many men find themselves on one side or the other for reasons which have little or nothing to do with the ostensible issues of the contest. Not infrequently the great majority of active participants have their sides chosen for them by a coercive authority, and hence it usually happens that many enemies have much more in common with each other than with their avowed allies.

Far from being an exception, the American Revolution probably saw more confusion in the lines of battle than the majority of social conflicts before or since. In North Carolina impoverished Scotsmen from the backwoods rallied to the King's standard against a rebel planter aristocracy, while in Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish frontiersmen sided with the Continental Congress against the Tory merchants of Philadelphia. In New York the loyalist camp included such incongruous elements as Sir William Johnson and his Indian allies, the well-born De Lanceys, Samuel Seabury, and thousands of stolid Dutch farmers. The patriots, for their part, could boast the great landowner, Philip Schuyler, the artisans and mechanic class of New York City, and Alexander McDougall working in concert with Robert Livingston.

The Whig-Tory alignment by economic and social groups varied so markedly in the thirteen colonies that broad generalizations about the nature of the American Revolution must be handled with care. It was in its various and frequently conflicting aspects a struggle of the haves against the have-nots, a struggle of the ruling class to maintain itself against the encroachment of the unenfranchised masses from below and the crown authority from above, a fight between east and west for the control of provincial governments, a contest within the ruling class for office and power, and last but not least, a struggle between people who liked England and things English and people who did not. So great is the confusion of issues and party alignments that it might even be more profitable to regard the American Revolution as thirteen separate conflicts with the rejection of British authority as their common denominator.

But if broad generalizations about the nature of the Revolution frequently fail to interpret adequately the behavior of sizable social and economic groups, they possess even less utility for explaining why particular individuals acted as they did. When we endeavor to explain why a political figure espoused the patriot cause or remained loyal to the King, it is not enough to cite his social or economic status; we must consider, in addition, his religion, the influence of his friends (and enemies), the political affiliations of his relatives, his temperament, the particular colonial environment in which his political and social views were formed—in short, the sum total of circumstances which may have inclined him to a particular course of action.

In this modest venture we shall examine at some length the political philosophies of two leaders in the American Revolution, who after working together to heal the breach with England, elected to follow opposing standards when the die was cast. We shall have for our subjects John Jay, the great leader of the early Revolution in New York, and Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, perhaps the foremost advocate of the loyalist cause in America.

Superficially at least, these men had much in common. Both were by birth prosperous members of the colonial aristocracy; both became in time successful, conservative lawyers who denounced the early agitation of the Revolutionary left wing for independence. Yet when compromise was no longer possible Jay's energetic support of the Revolution won him the presidency of the Continental Congress; Joseph Galloway joined the British Army.

In examining the political philosophies of our subjects, we should, of course, be unpardonably naïve were we to accept their public pronouncements—or even their private declarations of faith—at face value. For as the historian, political scientist, and intelligent layman realize only too well, every political leader in order to gain a hearing must manufacture many euphonious platitudes which have no more significance than the avowal of a presidential candidate that he believes in the American way of life. Nor does a man active in public life usually find it expedient to reveal all of the tenets of his political philosophy. The missing elements we must infer from the record as best we can.

Through an examination of the political views of John Jay and Joseph Galloway we shall endeavor to throw a little more light on an often debated but still debatable question: the nature of the American Revolution. Our study may operate to this end in two

ways. First, it will enable us better to understand the forces which motivated two of the principal figures in the Revolutionary Era who themselves perceptibly influenced the course of events. Second, it may help us to understand why not only Jay and Galloway, but other men of similar circumstances and outlook, came to side against each other in the company of people they disdained and frequently despised.

For the purposes of organization we may divide our study into four sections.

In the first we shall examine the environments wherein the political convictions of our subjects were forged, devoting particular attention to their views on the chain of events which precipitated the break with England.

Second, we shall consider the interpretations which Jay and Galloway placed upon the American Revolution considered as a democratic social movement, a struggle for colonial unity, and a war for independence.

Third, we shall attempt at least a tentative explanation of why Jay and Galloway, notwithstanding their many notable affinities, chose opposite sides when circumstances finally compelled them to stand up and be counted.

And finally, we shall consider some of the implications of our study for a few of the standard interpretations of the American Revolution.

II

As their biographers are fond of emphasizing, both John Jay and Joseph Galloway belonged by birth and breeding to the small social aristocracy which dominated the political life of colonial America. Strictly speaking, this privileged class did not constitute an aristocracy in the traditional sense of the word since membership was generally based more upon wealth than upon birth. Family was, however, extremely important, for in the closely knit society of the time family connections provided the only easy road to position and power.

In New York and Pennsylvania the aristocracy was not yet a closed corporation. An exceptional though impecunious young man who spoke with a good accent and possessed a sufficient number of Calvinistic virtues could still reasonably aspire to reach the upper rungs of the social ladder by working hard and playing his cards correctly. The rise of Benjamin Franklin in colonial Philadelphia has plagued school boys ever since. In the same tradition was the

social ascension of John Jay's grandfather who as a young man landed in New York in 1686 with plenty of ambition and not much else. Hard work and a marriage which brought him a wife from the Philipse family soon enabled him to take his place as a respected member of the local gentry.

But notwithstanding the opportunities for social mobility in colonial Pennsylvania and New York, the gulf between the few and the many was still formidable, for the gentry moved in a polished, urbane society which had little in common with the rough and frequently very narrow way of life which prevailed for the great mass of citizens. The minimum social graces were not easily acquired by the child of an artisan or farmer.

As might be expected, the gentry had no high opinion of the political acumen of the mass. Poorly educated, incapable of debating dispassionately on questions of law or government, the "lower orders" were obviously people of no great worth since they had been unable to amass sufficient property to claim a respected place in society. That favorite object lesson for the young, a man totally devoid of property was, of course, hardly better than a tramp or vagrant.

In both New York and Pennsylvania, as in most of the colonies, the ruling elite sought to protect its position by property qualifications on the right of franchise which effectively eliminated a substantial portion of the population from political activity. As late as 1769 the whole province of New York included less than 39,000 voters.[1] In the Quaker colony, property qualifications were surprisingly low for the time, the right of franchise being accorded to all male citizens over 21 years of age who could show 50 pounds of property or title to 50 acres of land.[2] The Quaker oligarchy in eastern Pennsylvania, however, effectively curtailed the worth of the franchise to their non-Quaker opponents in the west by the simple expedient of refusing to grant them representation in the Assembly proportionate to their numbers.[3] Thus, whereas the three oldest

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[1] George Pellew, *John Jay*, Boston and New York, 1892, 97.

[2] Raymond Werner, "Joseph Galloway: His Life and Times," unpublished doctoral dissertation in the Library of the State University of Iowa, 1927, p. 11. It is to be regretted that this excellent work, the most authoritative account of Galloway's political career available, has not been published.

[3] Professor Theodore Thayer has recently emphasized that the colonial gerrymander was not deliberately perpetrated by the Quaker Party, in his "The Quaker Party of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1947. New counties were originally created mainly to afford western settlers a more efficient administration of justice,

and Quaker dominated counties had eight representatives each, the last county to be organized prior to the Revolution received but one.[4]

But in the last analysis, the political power of the gentry rested not so much upon a restricted franchise as upon the quasi-feudal conviction which still prevailed in all ranks of society that the "better" people were the natural leaders of men, and government their special province. So firmly rooted was this conviction in New York that even in the crucial elections of the Revolutionary Era only a small percentage of the qualified electors ever bothered to vote.[5]

As might be expectetd Jay and Galloway absorbed most of the social attitudes and prejudices which circulated in their privileged environment. Their writings reveal a marked preference for the "better sorts of people" as against the "lawless mob." At the same time, both men, and Jay to a notable degree, early acquired the aristocrat's sense of noblesse oblige which gave a courage and integrity to their political lives seldom equaled in the careers of their more democratically inclined colleagues.

Notwithstanding their essential similarity, the ruling classes of New York and Pennsylvania differed in two important respects. First, the social aristocracy of the empire state was much more homogeneous in composition. Virtually all of the leading merchant and landowning families were of either Dutch or English descent, although the first Jay in America had been a Huguenot refugee. By the time of John Jay, time and intermarriage had blurred the ethnic distinctions within the elite itself so that it no longer particularly mattered whether one's forebears had been English or Dutch.

Pennsylvania, on the other hand, could boast many ethnic and religious strains: English Quakers, English Episcopalians, German Pietists and German Lutherans from a dozen principalities, Irish Catholics and, of course, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians of the frontier. And although this heterogeneity was not so marked within the gentry as among the general population, it still served to accentuate political antagonisms, particularly between Quaker and non-Quaker squires.

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and re-apportionment does not emerge as a major issue until after 1760. In the later colonial period, however, the gerrymander was no less advantageous to the Quaker Party because it had arisen fortuitously.

[4] Charles H. Lincoln, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania*, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1901, 45-47; *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1775, Vol. V, 120.

[5] Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution*, New York, 1902, 116.

Second, the ruling groups of the two colonies faced different political problems. As Carl Becker has emphasized, the "central fact" in the political life of New York prior to 1766 was the contest between the governor and his assembly.[6] Actually it was not much of a contest, for the assembly had long since arrogated most of the legislative power to itself. As a consequence of this absence of pressing problems and serious ethnic or religious divisions, the political environment in which Jay grew up was not notably acrimonious. Political lines were generally based on family connections with the De Lanceys and their adherents supporting the governor, while the numerous Livingston clan led the opposition. Religion played a minor part in provincial politics with the Church of England communicants favoring the De Lancey party and the dissenters looking to the Livingstons for leadership. But party lines were not rigidly fixed, and political activity was generally conducted on the genteel level befitting gentlemen who were friends and neighbors.

In Pennsylvania the situation was far different. Here the Quaker minority of the Philadelphia area battled fiercely and often viciously to maintain itself against the rising tide of non-Quaker immigration, while endeavoring at the same time to usurp what remained of the absentee Penn family's privilege and power.

Particularly bitter was the struggle over military preparedness and defense of the frontier. The Quakers by virtue of their abhorence of violence in all of its forms were reluctant to push military operations against the Indians; not infrequently the good Friends intimated that the Scotch-Irish backwoodsmen had only themselves to blame for the danger of Indian attack. And while this feeling may have had some basis in fact, it understandably infuriated the people of the frontier.[7]

The Penn family, which had long since left the Meeting House to return to the Established Church, was sympathetic to the demands of the western counties for military protection and a greater share in the provincial government. Hence after 1754 the Proprietary began to build up a party among the discontented elements which might serve as a check upon the antagonistic Friends. Eventually its efforts provoked the unsuccessful attempt of the Quaker oligarchy, led by non-Quakers Galloway and Franklin, to have the Penn charter revoked and Pennsylvania accorded the status of a crown colony.

[6] Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776,* Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, 1909, 6.

[7] Werner, 10; Lincoln, 104-106.

For our purpose this often discussed struggle over Proprietary government is chiefly significant for two reasons. First, it clearly indicates that the old conception of politics as the private province of the gentry was passing away. In the closely contested assembly election of 1764 both parties made every effort to get out the vote and sway the electorate by fair means or foul. Even Galloway felt obliged to give lip service to all of the popular demands—cheap money, cheap land, lower taxes, voluntary military service, and greater freedom for the individual.[8]

Second, it made Galloway the personal enemy of John Dickinson, a young lawyer destined to become one of Pennsylvania's foremost leaders in the Revolution. So bitter did personal recriminations become in the campaign of 1764 that the generally mild mannered Dickinson charged Galloway with lining his pockets with the spoils of his country, "infamously plundered in vile jobs," and even challenged him to a duel.[9]

As we have noted, the Jay family in New York was of Huguenot descent. Prior to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the family appears to have enjoyed considerable prosperity. When the religious persecutions were resumed the Jays were driven into exile in England. Augustus Jay, a younger son, elected to try his luck in America with the results we have already noted. In the second generation Peter Jay, the father of John, furthered the family fortune so sufficiently that he was able to retire to the country at the age of forty, provide his eldest son with a medical education in Edinburgh, and send the future statesman to King's College. In politics the elder Jay adhered to the Whig or Livingston party and roundly condemned the taxing pretensions of the Crown after the fashion of the time.[10]

John Jay was born in New York City, December 12, 1745. Following his graduation from King's College at the age of 19, he elected to study law. Admitted to the bar in 1768, he formed a partnership with Robert Livingston, a talented junior member of the powerful Whig clan, and rapidly acquired a sizable practice.

Gregarious by nature, Jay entered into the social life of New York City and soon formed friendships with many New Yorkers destined for prominent rôles in the Revolution, notably, James Duane, William Livingston, Oliver De Lancey, Peter Van Schanck,

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8 Werner, 73.

9 Oliver C. Kuntzleman, *Joseph Galloway, Loyalist,* (privately published doctoral dissertation), Philadelphia, 1941, 46.

10 Pellew, 5.

Richard Morris, and Gouverneur Morris. Beginning about 1773, the young lawyer seriously undertook to acquire a wife. His early efforts were not notably successful, and on two occasions he was turned down by the daughters of Peter De Lancey. Fortunately the leading Whig household proved more receptive, and on April 28, 1774, Jay married the daughter of William Livingston, leader of His Majesty's not too loyal opposition in the province of New York.

Inevitably the young lawyer's amorous activities have been given a political interpretation. One loyalist historian wrote somewhat bitterly:

> Mr. Jay, having been disappointed in two several attempts to marry into the De Lancey family, by way of retaliation took a wife in that of the Livingstons, a family ever opposed in politics to that of the De Lanceys, turned republican, espoused the Livingston interest and ever afterward opposed all legal government.[11]

Monaghan denies that Jay's political sentiments were in any way influenced by his rebuff at the hands of the De Lancey daughters.[12] But it would be rather naïve to assume that his adherence to the patriot cause was not materially strengthened by the acquisition of William Livingston as a father-in-law.

Unfortunately, we have little information on the early years of Joseph Galloway.[13] He was born at West River, Maryland, in the year 1731, the son of prosperous Quaker parents who had acquired extensive land holdings in the Baltimore colony. At an early age he moved to Philadelphia to study law. Admitted to the bar at eighteen, he prospered, made an excellent marriage, and rose to become one of the richest men in Pennsylvania.

Galloway's first political opportunity came at the beginning of the French and Indian War when the good Quakers relinquished their seats in the assembly rather than vote the necessary military supplies. Although Galloway had not remained in the Quaker faith, his conservative affiliations and social eminence recommended him to the dominant Quaker interests, and with their support he was elevated in 1756 to colonial assembly, where he was to play a major rôle in the political life of Pennsylvania for the next twenty years.

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11 Thomas Jones, *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*, New York Historical Society, New York, 1879, Vol. II, 223.

12 Frank Monaghan, *John Jay*, New York and Indianapolis, 1935, 46.

13 Virtually all of the available information on Galloway's early years was summarized over forty years ago by Ernest Baldwin in his "Joseph Galloway, The Loyalist Politician," in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXVI, No. 2, 1902.

Galloway's attitude toward the memorable events which led up to the First Continental Congress is not always clear. The Stamp Act he opposed as a matter of course, for it would have been politically inexpedient to do otherwise;[14] but he even more emphatically denounced the efforts of the Proprietary party to make political capital out of the unpopular measure.[15] When attempts to introduce stamped paper into the colonies provoked rioting and disorder, Galloway, writing in the *Pennsylvania Journal* as "Americanus," pointed out that the crown needed revenue to provide an adequate defense for the colonies and warned against incurring the wrath of Parliament by rash acts.[16] In 1767 he supported the petition of the Pennsylvania Assembly to Parliament which reaffirmed that the colonists enjoyed all the rights of Englishmen and hence could not be taxed without their consent.[17] He opposed the unpopular efforts of the Crown to restrict the issue of paper money.[18] The Tea Act he publically ignored and privately sanctioned because it would reduce the price of tea.[19] The Boston Tea Party he saw only as a wanton destruction of property by lawless foreigners in New England.[20] When the Philadelphia merchants refused to sign the non-importation agreement, they received his full support.

The facts would seem to indicate that Galloway was out of step with the times. His attitudes on the issues enumerated above reveal a marked reluctance to accept the colonies' differences with Britain as a major political issue. This reluctance is understandable in the light of his personal political situation. In the decade after 1764, the power of the Quaker party, which had dominated the political life of Pennsylvania since its inception, was crumbling rapidly. Young Quakers were turning to the leadership of Dickinson and other moderates who would voice their complaints against England. The Penns by patronage and special concessions to the dissatisfied elements had strengthened the political opposition, and the mounting popular sentiment against privilege threatened to engulf the Quaker strongholds in eastern Pennsylvania as well as on the frontier. In the election of 1770 even the long docile tradesmen and

14 Werner, 105.
15 *Ibid.*, 107.
16 *Pennsylvania Journal*, July 9, 1766.
17 Werner, 142.
18 *Ibid.*, 123.
19 *Ibid.*, 181.
20 Joseph Galloway, *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion*, London, 1780, 18.

mechanics of Philadelphia rebelled against the political tutelage of Galloway and Franklin.[21]

In the face of the rising tide of discontent the Quaker oligarchy fought tenaciously to maintain itself in power. To this end the old guard rattled the bones of the Proprietary grievance—the only popular issue it possessed—for all they were worth. On the emerging question of colonial rights, Galloway and his followers wisely hedged, preferring to use it whenever possible as a springboard for attacks on their opponents. So successful were these tactics that the old party succeeded in maintaining a precarious hold on the Assembly until after the outbreak of hostilities.

Thus it would seem that prior to 1774 Galloway's principal objective was the maintenance of his party's power in Pennsylvania politics. Considered in the light of this end, his views on the points of controversy with Britain before this time reveal a rather expediential consistency.

When public pressure finally compelled a reluctant Assembly to send delegates to the first Continental Congress, Galloway consented to serve on condition he be allowed to write the delegation's instructions. With his characteristic respect for the royal authority he admonished his colleagues "to avoid everything indecent and disrespectful to the Mother State."

Unfortunately there is little direct evidence to indicate how Jay felt about the events which led up to the first Congress. In the years between 1768 and 1774, it is doubtful if politics held much interest for him. He had more absorbing matters to occupy his talent, notably the social life of New York City and a rapidly growing law practice. In view of his later conduct, however, we may infer with reasonable certainty that his political views in this period were roughly the same as those of his Whig father and friends.

Jay made his entrance into politics when he was elevated to the Committee of Fifty-One which the worried burghers of New York City had created in an effort to take the leadership of the Revolutionary movement away from radicals of the stripe of Issac Sears and Alexander McDougall.[22] The young lawyer willingly accepted

[21] Lincoln, 80-81; "Resolutions of Tradesmen," in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1770.

[22] The character of the Committee may be inferred from the following remark of the Tory editor, Rivingston: "The power over our crowd is no longer in the hands of Sears, Lamb, and such unimportant persons, who for six years past have been the demagogues of a very turbulent faction in this city; but their power and mischievous capacity expired instantly with the election of the Committee of Fifty-One, in which there is a majority of inflexibly honest, loyal and prudent citizens." Monaghan, 52.

committee assignments, worked hard, counseled moderation, and with his father-in-law won a place in the First Continental Congress. Jay and the other New York delegates refused to commit themselves in advance on the crucial question of non-importation; though not unmindful of the growing power of the left, they privately circulated assurances that non-importation was favored "in principle."

III

Any hopes which Jay and Galloway may have entertained that the Continental Congress would work toward a reconciliation with the mother country were soon rudely shattered. While John Adams may have been correct in his famous characterization of the first Congress as "one part blind Tories, another Whigs, and the rest mongrels," it soon became apparent that a determined radical faction would be able to harry at least the mongrels in the direction of independence. Patrick Henry eloquently revealed the radical temper when he thundered:[23]

> Government is dissolved. Fleets and armies and the present state of things show that government is dissolved. Where are your landmarks, your boundaries of colonies? We are in a state of nature, sir .... The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American.

Probably Jay echoed the sentiments of moderate and conservative alike when he answered:

> Could I suppose that we came to frame an American constitution, instead of endeavoring to correct the faults in an old one—I can't yet think that all government is at an end. The measure of arbitrary power is not yet full, and I think it must run over before we undertake to frame a new constitution.[24]

Significantly, Jay is by no means certain that the measure of arbitrary power will not run over.

Jay's general approach to the problem of reconciling England and the colonies is well revealed in his *Address to the People of Great Britain,* the work which first established his reputation as a statesman of the first rank. Herein he recites again the colonial grievances, reserving his most eloquent denunciation for the transfer of trials to England, taxation without representation, the Quebec Act, and incompetent royal administration. According to one

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[23] John Adams, *Works,* Boston, 1850-1856, Vol. II, 367-368.
[24] *Ibid.*

biographer, the address as finally framed by Jay is a much more moderate document than the original draft returned by Richard Henry Lee.[25] Nevertheless, the future Chief Justice ended with a thinly veiled threat:

> Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.
>
> But lest the same supineness, and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have several years shown, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

Actually, the *Address to the People of Great Britain* is a moderate document in form only; in content it is a clear ultimatum for peace on the colonists' terms or else. Galloway later testified before the bar of Parliament that the address had never met with his approval.[26]

Galloway's attendance at the First Continental Congress was notable principally for the introduction of his celebrated plan of union which we shall have occasion to examine at some length in the next section.

In the end, both men concurred with the majority in signing the momentous Association agreement which pledged the colonies to non-importation, although Galloway later contended that he had acquiesced only because he feared refusal might goad the radicals to even more drastic action.[27] An uncharitable observer might suggest that he was not unmindful of his precarious political position in Pennsylvania. We can only guess at Jay's true feelings on the matter. In any event when he returned to New York his enthusiastic endorsement of the Association won him the support of the radicals who had previously regarded him with suspicion.

Jay was now unequivocably committed to the Revolutionary cause, although he continued to oppose the idea of independence. As late as June, 1776, Jay carried a resolution in the New York Provincial Congress declaring that "the good people of this colony have not, in the opinion of this Congress, authorized this Congress or the delegates of this Colony in the Continental Congress, to declare this Colony to be and continue independent of the crown of Great Britain."[28] At the same time he was actively engaged in or-

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25 Monaghan, 81.

26 *Examination of Joseph Galloway, Esq., by a Committee of the House of Commons*, London, 1779, 64.

27 *Ibid.*, 56.

28 Monaghan, 81.

ganizing a military defense to ward off any attempts by the crown to forcibly assert its authority. Scarcely a month later when presented with independence as a *fait accompli,* the youthful conservative acquiesced without protest and drew up the New York resolutions endorsing the Declaration of Independence. In later years Jay wrote: "It has always been and still is my opinion and belief, that our country was prompted and impelled to independence by necessity and not by choice."[29]

In Pennsylvania Galloway was being stripped of the last vestiges of his once great power. The Quakers, who had returned him to office for twenty years, were totally unable to cope with the new trend of events. In general meeting the Society of Friends ordered its members out of public affairs lest they be contaminated by the shedding of blood.[30] Many young Quakers not only ignored this admonition of the elders but flocked to join the newly organized militia companies. Franklin and many of Galloway's other political associates of long standing had virtually gone over to the side of Dickinson and the moderates, who, without much success, were striving to keep the radicals in check. In Philadelphia extremists manhandled suspected Tories and sent Galloway a hangman's noose as a token of their esteem.[31] Unfortunately, it cannot be said that his intemperate condemnation of the radicals was calculated to lessen their antipathy.

Finally the veteran statesman withdrew to his country estate in Bucks county, resolving to take no further part in the miserable contest. Even the solicitations of his friend Franklin were unable to draw him back to the Continental Congress. But Galloway had made too many enemies to be able to enjoy neutrality. When the revolutionary Supreme Executive Committee ordered his arrest, he saw no alternative but to seek safety within the British lines. The die was cast.

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[29] John Jay to Judge Peters, January 25, 1819, in *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay,* New York, 1883, 4 Vols.

[30] Werner, 243; William Duane, ed., *Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall,* Albany, 1877, entries for Dec. 30, 1774 and Jan. 2, 1775, p. 12.

[31] Joseph Galloway to William Franklin, March 26, 1775, *New Jersey Archives,* Vol. X, 579–586; also *Examination of Joseph Galloway,* 56. When questioned by the Committee on a rumor which attributed the gift of the halter to Peyton Randolph and Charles Thomson, Galloway in good legal fashion declined to make any accusations for lack of sufficient evidence.

IV

Since Jay and Galloway were practical politicians, or, if the reader prefers, "active statesmen," the interpretations which they placed upon the American Revolution must be inferred for the most part from the answers they attempted to frame for the concrete problems which confronted them. For purposes of convenience we shall examine their respective interpretations of the contest considered in its separate aspects as a social movement, a struggle for colonial unity and a war of independence.

Significantly neither Jay nor Galloway, as members of a ruling elite whose days were numbered, had any clear perception of the democratic ferment at work in the American Revolution. Both leaders conceived of the great mass of men as a rather inert substance, probably inclined to indolence and other immoral pleasures, but politically dangerous only when aroused by the demagogue; we find the more unsavory aspects of the conflict ascribed to the machinations of bad men who stir up the mob.

Jay did not contemplate that independence would materially effect the ordering of society, and he certainly did not desire that it should. The new constitution of New York, which was largely his work, was little more than a continuation of the provincial government without the trappings of royal authority.[32] Even the same property qualifications on the suffrage were retained, and it was perhaps symbolic that when Jay assumed office as the first Chief Justice of the new state, he entered the court proceedings in the record book of his royal predecessors.[33]

Probably Jay's philosophy of government is best exemplified in the following passage taken from a letter to Washington:

> The great mass of men are neither wise nor good, and the virtue, like the other resources of a country can only be drawn to a point and exerted by strong circumstances ably managed, or a strong government ably administered.[34]

Galloway, if he did not clearly perceive the undercurrents of democracy in the Revolution, at least realized that the "better sort of people" in the colonies were taking a bad beating, and that should the Continental Congress emerge victorious, Pennsylvania would be dominated by Presbyterians and other low characters.[35]

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[32] Pellew, 77-78.
[33] *Ibid.*, 96.
[34] Jay to Washington, June 27, 1786.
[35] Galloway, *Historical and Political Thoughts on the Rise and Progress of the American Revolution*, 49–55.

In their views on the necessity for greater colonial unity both Jay and Galloway were notably in advance of the time. It was the latter's conviction that so long as there was no central agency in which the thirteen colonies and the mother country could meet to formulate and execute a joint policy on matters of inter-colonial concern, bickerings and dissensions would be inevitable. Each of his various plans of union was designed to provide such an agency. Initially, Jay favored the establishment of a national government for the same reason, i.e., as a step toward restoring harmony with Britain. Later as an ardent and intelligent revolutionary, he realized that successful prosecution of the war demanded a strong central authority. In the miserable confederation years this preference for national government was further strengthened until in *Chisolm vs. Georgia* he stripped the individual state of a major attribute of sovereignty, the immunity from being sued without their consent by a private citizen, on the ground that the national government was the creation of the American people and not the handiwork of thirteen sovereign political entities. How Galloway would have regarded the controversy over states rights had he remained in America is a question which cannot be answered with any certainty. His disposition was far too querulous for us to assume that the unionist of 1774 would necessarily have become a federalist of 1790.

In their respective attitudes toward independence both men started from the premise most explicitly formulated by Galloway:

> Should a state arbitrarily deprive its members of their just rights, and refuse to restore them, after it has repeatedly and respectfully been required so to do, then their duties and obedience to the State cease, but not before; it being the design of every society when formed that its existence should be permanent, not of a temporary duration.[36]

Jay early concluded that the colonists were legally and morally entitled to independence since the mother country had repeatedly endeavored to deprive them of their rights as Englishmen. There was no question in Jay's mind as to the colonists' right to independence. He opposed separation because he believed some redress of grievances might yet be obtained from the crown. When his fellow citizens decided otherwise he accepted their decision without protest, although it is possible that Jay like many New York conservatives at first regarded independence as only a temporary expedient for coercing Britain into complying with the colonists' demands.

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[36] Joseph Galloway, *A Candid Examination of the Mutual Claims of Great Britain and the Colonies: With a Plan of Accomodation on Constitutional Principles,* New York, 1775, 13.

Galloway's views on independence are not so easily summarized. Initially he seems to have reasoned about as follows: in every state the supreme legislative authority has to rest somewhere, otherwise conflict and dissension will result. By the British constitution this authority is vested in Parliament. The supreme legislative authority is just as supreme in America as in England, and its power has in no ways been curtailed by the grants of power which the crown has made to various colonial assemblies. Actually, since Parliament, and not the king, is the proper fountain head of all legislative power, these grants, strictly speaking, are unconstitutional.[37]

Since Parliament is by definition supreme, it cannot be said to act illegally when it legislates for the colonies even though they are not represented. If we take this line of reasoning one step further, as Galloway did not, it would seem that Parliament by virtue of its supremacy cannot possibly pass an illegal act.

One biographer has concluded from Galloway's insistence upon the supremacy of Parliament that he favored some sort of colonial representation not as a matter of right, but only as a matter of expediency.[38] It seems clear, however, that Galloway prior to his defection recognized that the colonists had at least a moral claim to representation, though later when writing for a British audience, he justified representation on the grounds of British self-interest.[39]

Galloway had two solutions for the problem of representation. It was his own opinion that the closest union would be the best; hence the colonies should be granted direct representation in Parliament. Recognizing that this idea enjoyed little popularity on either side of the Atlantic, he proposed as an alternative that an intercolonial government be created with a governor-general appointed by the King and an assembly which would be an integral but inferior part of the British legislature. All legislation affecting both England and the colonies, or more than one colony, would require the assent of both Parliament and the colonial body.[40]

This colonial body, or "Grand Council," was to consist of two houses, the lower to be composed of delegates elected by the several provincial assemblies, and the upper to consist of distinguished citi-

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37 *Ibid.*, 21.

38 Werner, 281.

39 Julian P. Boyd, *Anglo-American Union: Joseph Galloway's Plans to Preserve the British Empire,* Philadelphia, 1941, 127.

40 The texts of Galloway's various plans of union are contained in the appendices of Boyd's *Anglo-American Union.*

zens appointed and knighted by the king.[41] For obvious reasons Galloway omitted the provision for a titled upper chamber from the plan of union presented to the First Continental Congress.

In his partisan days Galloway was by no means content to denounce the Revolution on abstract legal grounds. It was manifestly unjustified because the colonists had not exhausted the means at their disposal for obtaining a peaceful redress of grievances. It was unjustifiable because it was the work of a few evil men and contrary to the wishes of the great majority of Americans. It was thoroughly ill-advised since the colonists must certainly succumb to the power of Britain and lose the rights of Englishmen they so highly valued. Should the colonists by some miracle emerge victorious they would only fall prey to France or Spain; and if the Papist Bourbons didn't get them, then the inevitable bickerings of thirteen separate states would bring anarchy and tyranny. In short, the colonists could not win if they continued blindly down "the highway of sedition and rebellion."[42]

If a major intellectual influence may be discerned in the political philosophies of our subjects, it is the tradition of the common law. The approach of Galloway to the difficulties with England was strictly legalistic, and that of Jay hardly less so. Galloway in his *Candid Examination* ridicules the appeal of the radicals to such vague concepts as natural law, holding that the dispute must be decided on "principles of government in general and the British Constitution in particular." Whoever seeks elsewhere for a solution "will search in vain, and ever confound the subject, perplex himself, and bewilder the reader."

Jay, although he occasionally employs a natural right argument, generally justifies the colonists' cause on the grounds that they have been illegally deprived of their rights under the British Constitution.

Galloway and Jay were one in their abhorence of anything done not according to the law. The Pennsylvania statesman reserves his most vehement denunciations for the revolutionists' suppression of civil liberty and their confiscation of private property by bills of attainder. Jay was instrumental in getting a provision into the New

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41 It was Galloway's contention that "an entire democracy without the checks of Aristocracy and Monarchy would be dangerous to the State; an Aristocracy only would not form a union, but be too arbitrary over the people and dangerous and ungovernable by the State." Galloway to Charles Jenkinson ca. 1780; Boyd, 88.

42 Cf. Galloway, *A Candid Examination*, 2-3, 45-49.

York constitution that no court should be established except according to the common law.[43]

V

The extent to which anybody's political philosophy is merely a cover for his accumulated prejudice, self-interest, or class interest is, of course, a matter of opinion. It is the opinion of the author, a veteran of more courses in political theory than he cares to remember, that political philosophy is mostly rationalization, more valuable a key to understanding the things it is designed to conceal than for any intrinsic merit. Hence he would suggest that the analysis of the political views of our subjects presented in the preceeding sections does not provide a complete answer to our question: Why did two men with so much in common choose opposite sides?

The factors which caused Jay to cast his lot with the revolutionists are rather obvious. He was inclined to the Patriot cause by family ties and traditions from the very beginning. His father had drifted into the Whig camp in provincial politics for reasons we can only surmise. Perhaps as a Calvinist and second generation Frenchman, the elder Jay was more at home among the Livingston adherents than in the predominantly English and Episcopal party of the De Lanceys. Notwithstanding the early retirement of Peter Jay to his country estate, the family had essentially middle-class traditions. The elder Jay sympathized with his merchant friends in their difficulties with England, even though his own interests were in no way affected.[44] We may note that John and his brother Francis were the first members of the family to receive a professional rather than a strictly commercial education.

Jay's entrance into the revolutionary ranks was further faciliated by his temperament and personality. The genial young lawyer by the standards of 1770 was certainly not a snob. As we have seen, after his showing in the First Continental Congress, he enjoyed considerable popularity among the radicals in New York and even became the close personal friend of the low born Alexander McDougall. Actually, the popular conception of Jay as a rather aloof aristocrat seems to stem largely from his later activities as diplomat and federalist leader.

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[43] Pellew, 88.
[44] Monaghan, 35.

Perhaps we might also suggest that as an ambitious young lawyer with many valuable connections in the revolutionary movement, not the least of whom was his father-in-law, Jay was not insensible to the superior opportunities it offered for getting ahead in the world. In any event, Jay's choice of sides was never in doubt. There is no scrap of evidence to indicate that he ever considered joining the loyalists or withdrawing from the contest.

The case of Galloway again presents more difficulties. His Quaker background and early success in business and politics combined to give him an eminence in Philadelphia society long before the Revolution, which Jay was not to achieve in New York until much later. Jay may have been well up the social ladder, but Galloway was at the top. This difference may perhaps explain why in provincial politics Galloway was aligned with the "ins" and Jay the "outs."

Possibly Galloway's struggle against the Penn family had disposed him to royal authority, though the record would seem to indicate that he was more consistently anti-Penn than pro-British. How much the personal enmity which Galloway bore Dickinson and other political figures who spearheaded the opposition to royal authority may have goaded him into taking the other side is not clear.

Galloway later contended that he sincerely desired to remain neutral after his efforts at reconciliation had failed; that he was forced into the loyalist ranks only by fear for his life.[45] Without questioning the sincerity of Galloway's attempt at neutrality, we may seriously doubt that a man of his contentious disposition could have long remained on the side lines.

In the last analysis, however, it would seem that Galloway's decision to join the loyalists was dictated by small and perhaps petty circumstances which were but indirectly related to the broader issues of the Revolution. Even allowing for his staunch social conservatism and inflexible temperament, the author is forced to conclude that had Franklin been more eloquent in espousing the Revolutionary cause, had Dickinson been a friend instead of an enemy, or had the Pennsylvania radicals shown a little more forebearance, Joseph Galloway might well have come down in history as one of the great patriot leaders of the American Revolution.

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[45] Galloway to Thomas McKean, March 7, 1793, *McKean Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. II, 108.

VI

In the opinion of the author, these modest researches have suggested five tentative generalizations. The first two are merely reaffirmations of rather self-evident truths frequently overlooked or ignored.

First, the Whig-Tory alignment in the American Revolution can only be understood after an examination of the political and social conditions which prevailed in each of the thirteen colonies before 1774.

Second, these conditions differed substantially from one province to the next.

Third, many political alignments originally formed on essentially local questions were adapted to the new issues which emerged out of the difficulties with England and projected into the Revolution. This type of cultural lag is, of course, the rule rather than the exception in American politics. Established political divisions generally have a momentum which enables them to survive for a time—often a long time—in the face of new developments which have destroyed their original reasons for being.

Fourth, the economic interpretation which views the Revolution as a struggle between the haves and the have-nots has probably been overworked.[46]

It cannot be demonstrated that the final decision of either Jay or Galloway was appreciably influenced by strictly financial considerations. Nor has the author discovered any adequate explanation in economic terms as to why the privileged classes in New York or Pennsylvania, except, of course, crown officials, should have supported one side in preference to the others.[47] So far as he can see the privileged classes in both colonies had but one direct economic interest: to prevent a war which might unleash forces they could not control. Once the conflict was underway, economic self-interest would have dictated that a man of position and property remain as inconspicuous as possible until the outcome could be known and then align himself wholeheartedly with the winner. However, if for other reasons he desired to play a more active part in the course of

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[46] The contention of Allan Nevins and Henry S. Commager, *America, The Story of a Free People*, Boston, 1943, 110, that "nearly all the important property owners in the province of New York were Tories" is clearly an overstatement.

[47] Cf. Chester W. Wright, *Economic History of the United States*, New York, 1941, 203-207.

events, he would find a welcome in either camp for in 1774 the "better" people were still generally regarded by Whigs and Tories alike as the proper leaders of society. While it is true that the American Revolution effected a considerable redistribution of wealth within the colonies this condition did not come about because the have-nots had beaten the haves. Property changed hands first, because many rich as well as many poor people had guessed wrong, and second, because the American Revolution like most long wars impoverished some men and enriched others in ways neither desired nor foreseen by the leaders of either side.

Finally our study calls into question the traditional characterization of the Tories as the "prosperous and contented men, the men without a grievance"[48] and the conclusion which follows that "conservatism was the only policy which one could expect of them."[49] On the contrary, the prosperous and contented—and by implication the timid—were exactly the class of people most easily coerced by their more radical and energetic neighbors into supporting the Revolution. During the war most communities were dominated not by the King's troops, but by local patriots and frequently by patriot extremists. For the prosperous, the contented, and the timid, loyalism and not rebellion involved the greatest direct risk to life and property. With revolutionary committees of safety abroad in the land it took no little courage publicly to avow loyalty to one's king. In many instances the men who had this courage were not the prosperous, the contented and the timid, but the maladjusted, the embittered, and the aggressively reactionary—men of the stripe of Joseph Galloway. Perhaps conservatism in the American Revolution has been too closely identified with loyalism.

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48 Van Tyne, 158.
49 *Ibid.*, 158.

Book Reviews

American Radicalism, 1865–1901: Essays and Documents. By Chester McArthur Destler. Connecticut College Monograph No. 3., New London, Connecticut, 1946, XII–254–Index. Cloth $3.50; Paper, $2.50.

In this scholarly and informative study the author brings together his extensive work on a reinterpretation of American radicalism. Made up of a series of essays and documents in eleven chapters, seven of which have been previously published in various research journals, the book covers the period of western radicalism from the close of the Civil War to approximately 1900 with special emphasis upon the rise and disintegration of the Populist Party. Professor Destler's basic ideas are clearly set forth in his preface and in his opening chapter "Western Radicalism, 1865–1901" in which he brings out that Populism was a combination of agrarian with eastern and urban thought and that it was economic rather than political in nature. Based on the natural rights philosophy of Locke, Jeffersonian equalitarianism, and certain aspects of Jacksonian democracy, it sponsored a program of limited collectivism, anti-monopolism, and a belief in the labor-theory of value. In the author's opinion American radicalism failed because of its refusal to combine with the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx, reemerging in the regulatory theories of the New Deal.

The other chapters are detailed and specialized studies of the problems that grew out of the basic principles found in the opening section. Chapters II–III–IV analyze the growth of the Pendleton Plan and the spread of Kellogg's low interest and legal tender theories. Chapter V is a document giving the history of an unsuccessful attempt to unite American radical ideas with those of the anarchists and the Marxian socialists. Chapters VI–VII deal with the Toledo Pipe-Line controversy and "Wealth Against Commonwealth," which are developments of the author's work on the life of Henry Demarest Lloyd. Chapters VIII–IX give an account of the unsuccessful attempt to unite the farmer and the laborer in Illinois in 1894. Chapter X is a document of a speech entitled "The Revolution is Here" delivered by H. D. Lloyd at Central Music Hall in Chicago on October 6, 1894. The last chapter tells of the controversy between Free Silver and Collectivism and of the "disintegration of the Labor-Populist Alliance in Illinois."

Western radicalism according to the author was far more systematic in thought and broader and more national in scope than has generally been supposed. He succeeds in presenting Populism as an integrated philosophy with a faith and a creed as well as a program. It was far more than an isolated farmer's movement. The older point of view was due in part to too much dependence upon local records by historians and upon the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner. Several new points of emphasis are brought forth and stressed in the study. There is a revision of the Turnerian point of view that midwestern radicalism was primarily agrarian in nature. While the idea is not new the evidence presented is quite convincing. The reaction

of the reform group to the monopolistic techniques of such organizations as the Standard Oil Company is carefully considered along with a thorough study and analysis of the various attempts to unite the farmer and the laborer for political action.

The work has some limitations. Being a series of more or less disconnected essays it lacks continuity and unity. There is some repetition and some awkwardness in sentence structure. The work is very condensed and it is assumed that the reader is a specialist in the field under consideration. These criticisms, however, are of minor consequence when weighed against the good points of the work. It is a valuable contribution to American economic and intellectual history and it is hoped that the author will carry the study to completion. It is a book that can be reread and studied with profit. The volume is well documented and printed with well chosen contemporary cartoons and an excellent index.

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The Fathers of the Church. The Apostolic Fathers. Translated by Francis X. Glimm, Joseph M.-F. Marique, S.J., and Gerald G. Walsh, S.J. Cima Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1947.

It is a great pleasure to see this first volume of the new translation of the letters and writings of the Church Fathers come from the press. The beginning of the publication of seventy-two volumes is an event of importance which cannot pass unnoticed. The general title of the set is *The Fathers of the Church*, while the particular title of the first is *The Apostolic Fathers*. Eighty-two scholars of the United States are at present engaged in the task of translating and editing the writings under an editorial board headed by the Editorial Director, Ludwig Schopp. The publisher and sponsor is the Cima Publishing Company, headed by Anthony P. Cima, 7 East 44th Street, New York 17, New York.

The project is a boon to scholars, teachers, preachers, and lay readers. Everyone has recognized the vast need of an available set of works in English comprising the basic documents written by the great minds of the early Church. Though forbidding in their Latin encasement to many people untrained in reading the ancient tongues, the writings are lively and vigorous for any age or generation or in fact, since they present eternal principles, for any circumstance in present affairs. They offer many challenges to modern thought, and they relegate many "new" ideas of the moderns to a pre-Patristic period. The value of this enterprise which is so monumental in scope is destined to increase with each volume and to live through the years.

This first volume contains sixteen documents beginning with two letters of St. Clement of Rome and concluding with the translation of the fragments

of Papias. A short introduction precedes each text, and at the end of this there is a select bibliography with a list of previous translations and a statement telling which text or manuscript was followed for the translation. The translators are careful to give the literal version of words or phrases where quibbles might arise about their translation of the thought of the passage. The printing and general format is quite pleasing to the eye. All in all, the acquisition of a set of *The Fathers of the Church* will prove as good an investment in books as any that has come to our notice in recent years.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

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VOLUME XXIX

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